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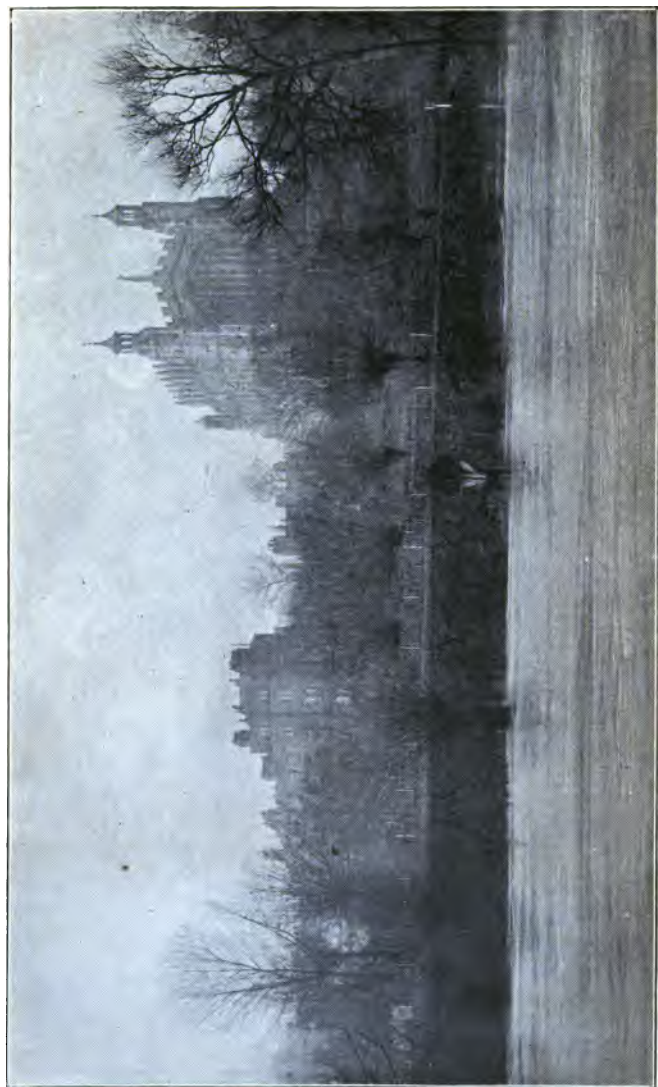


Photo.

ETON COLLEGE FROM THE RIVER.

T. P.



ETON

BY

A. CLUTTON-BROCK, B.A.

OF NEW COLLEGE, OXFORD, AND FORMERLY SCHOLAR OF ETON COLLEGE

WITH FORTY-SIX ILLUSTRATIONS FROM PHOTOGRAPHS BY THE
REV. T. PERKINS, AND OTHERS



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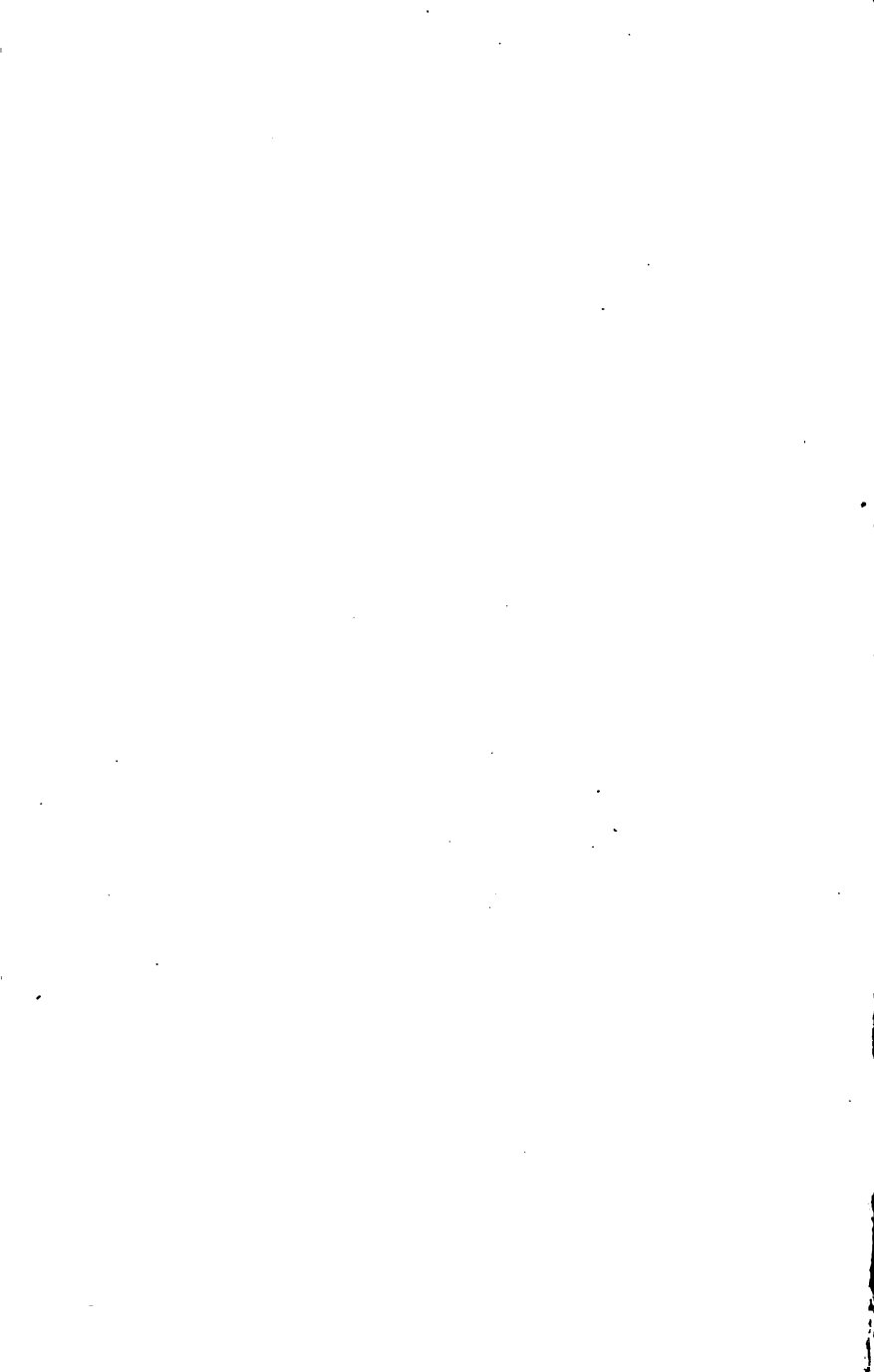
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PREFACE

SIR HENRY MAXWELL LYTE'S "History of Eton College," is the standard work on the subject, and my obligations to it are too general to be acknowledged in detail. I am also indebted to Mr. Sterry's "Annals of Eton College," a delightful book containing many interesting facts not to be found elsewhere ; to Messrs. Willis and Clark's "Architectural History of the University of Cambridge;" to Mr. Leach's "History of Winchester College," and to the Rev. F. St. John Thackeray's interesting memoir of Dr. Hawtrey.

It is the object of the books contained in this series to give an account of the present condition of the schools of which they treat. It has therefore been necessary to compress the history of those schools into as small a compass as possible. It has been difficult to do this in the case of Eton, where the history is both long and full of interesting details, and I am conscious that much is omitted in the earlier chapters of this book which readers might expect to find there.

I am indebted to Mr. A. B. Lowry, once scholar of Eton College, for many details in the chapters dealing with Eton at the present day, and the publishers wish to express their thanks to the Rev. T. Perkins, to whom



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Photo.

THE SCHOOL YARD.

T. P.



ETON COLLEGE FROM THE PLAYING FIELDS.

ETON

CHAPTER I

THE FOUNDING AND EARLY HISTORY OF THE COLLEGE

A WYKEHAMIST, addressing an audience of old Etonians, once gracefully spoke of Eton as "*Matre pulchra filia pulchrior.*" Etonians will be content to say that their school is the beautiful daughter of a beautiful mother, and thereby to acknowledge her indebtedness to the illustrious foundation of William of Wykeham. The constitution of Eton was avowedly based on that of Winchester, the connection between King's and Eton was an imitation of that between Winchester and New College: the first Etonians were transplanted Wykehamists, and the first Provost of Eton was one of Wykeham's

greatest successors. It will not be irrelevant, therefore, to say a few words on the objects and motives which impelled Wykeham to the foundation of Winchester, since Henry VI. was affected by the same objects and motives when he founded Eton some sixty years later. There seems to be little doubt that Wykeham never even contemplated the foundation of a monastery, as has often been alleged. A century before his time the reaction against monastic institutions had begun. Many of the great minsters of the north, such as Beverley, Ripon, and Southwell, were secular foundations, and in the thirteenth century a great number of collegiate churches were founded with dependent colleges attached to them. There was a tendency to gather the vicars choral of great cathedrals, such as Lincoln, into colleges, and a similar tendency in favour of collegiate, instead of unattached students, at the universities. All these colleges were secular. There is no doubt, too, that the secular clergy were in better odour, both for learning and for conduct, than the monks. Wykeham, therefore, who was deeply interested in the cause of education, would have taken a retrograde step inconsistent with his other bold innovations if he had made Winchester a monastic foundation. "The foundation of the two Winton Colleges," says Sir Henry Maxwell Lyte, "is important as making a turning point in the struggle between the regular and the secular clergy." It was not the first, by any means, but it was the most striking and splendid example of a secular educational foundation.

Wykeham's agents in the necessary transactions prior to the foundation of his two colleges were mostly Fellows of Merton College, and there is no doubt that Merton was the model which he improved and amplified in New College. Wykeham also was probably influenced by the Burghersh Charity at Lincoln Grammar School and the Grammar School at Salisbury, which in its connection with Salisbury Hall at Oxford resembled that of Winchester and New College. His double foundation was not, therefore, an absolute novelty, either in the connection between school and college or in the placing of them so far apart.

The novelty lay in the general scale of the foundation, imitated at Eton ; in the number of the scholars and the magnificence of the endowment ; also in the fact that the Oxford foundation was confined to scholars coming from the school. This, too, was imitated by Henry VI. It is a regulation the advantages of which have gradually disappeared, and which no longer now exists ; but when it was made Wykeham justly expected the standard of both his colleges to be higher than that of any other contemporary places of learning, and no doubt wished to strengthen the school by a regular supply of well-trained fellows, and the college by a like supply of well-educated scholars.

Another innovation lay in the fact that each college was an independent foundation. No school before Winchester had been at the same time closely connected with a college at the University, and a separate and independent foundation by itself. There had been

schools in connection with colleges, but not colleges of which the school was the most important part. "The old collegiate churches had kept grammar schools, but they were, though inseparable accidents, still accidents. In Winchester College the accident became the essence."¹ The school and the school-boys were the aim and object of the foundation. This also was the case, it need hardly be stated, with Eton. Winchester was the first great public school; Eton was its imitator—designed, had the intention of the Founder been fulfilled, to be still more splendid and complete. And since the foundation of Eton no other school has arisen on the same scale and with the same constitution and exclusive connection with a great Oxford or Cambridge College. Of other public schools, the more ancient, such as Harrow, Rugby or Charterhouse, were grammar schools in their origin; the modern, such as Marlborough and Clifton, are of course established on a totally different system.

Before the foundation of Eton the model of Winchester was partly followed by Chicheley, Archbishop of Canterbury in his school at Higham Ferrers.

Chicheley was the godfather of Henry VI., and made him the joint founder of All Souls'. Bekynton, the king's secretary, was, like Chicheley, a Wykehamist, and it is probable that they filled him with the ambition of emulating Wykeham's great foundations, but he is said to have owed the immediate suggestion

¹ Quoted from Mr. Leach's "History of Winchester College."

to John Langton, vice-chancellor of Cambridge, who wished the king to do for his own university what Wykeham had done for Oxford. As Wykeham had laid his foundation close to his palace at Winchester, so Henry wished his own foundation to be as near as possibly to Windsor, and he therefore fixed upon a site lying under the shadow of the castle, and close by the banks of the river.

The first charter of foundation is dated 11th October, 1440. It states that it has become a "fixed purpose in our heart to found a college, in honour and in support of that our Mother who is so great and so holy, in the parish church of Eton near Windsor, not far from our birthplace."

The College is styled the "King's College of Our Lady of Eton beside Windsor" and is declared a body corporate. A constitution is given in outline, the king reserving to himself power to make any future changes that may be necessary. The establishment is to consist of a provost, ten fellows, four clerks, six choristers, a schoolmaster, twenty-five poor and indigent scholars, and twenty-five poor and infirm men. Thus the original charter provided for a much more modest establishment than that of Winchester, which contained seventy scholars and sixteen choristers. It also resembled the College at Higham Ferrers in that it included an almshouse. The almshouse was suppressed during the lifetime of the founder.

On the 13th of October, 1440, the Parish Church was formally declared a Collegiate Church, and Henry Sever was inducted as provost. His office seems to

have been no more indeed than a sinecure, though he held it for three years. He was appointed merely to mark the fact that the College was actually in existence. He afterwards became warden of Merton, and is chiefly known as a benefactor of that foundation. In January, 1441, three Bulls were obtained from the Pope, Eugenius IV., confirming the foundation, allowing the king to assign suitable dresses to the members, and permitting the provost and College to farm out their lands to laymen, if necessary. On the following Lady Day the king issued the first Charter connected with the endowments of the College. These endowments consisted largely of English estates taken from the alien priories by Henry V., that is to say from Abbeys in Normandy, such as Fécamp, Ivry, St. Stephen's at Caen, and particularly Herlouin-Bec, to which William the Conqueror had granted English lands. These lands, when confiscated, had passed into the possession of the Crown, and were usually given to English monasteries or to colleges of secular clergy. Many of the original title-deeds passed with the estates and are preserved in the Fellows' Library at Eton.

The king also bought lands in the neighbourhood of Eton and as many houses and gardens as possible in Eton itself. All these were granted to the provost and fellows.

Before completing the foundation the king determined to make a closer study of the College at Winchester, and paid the first of several visits there on the 31st of July, 1441, and the second on the 22nd

of November of the same year, when he confirmed the privileges of the College and gave a present of £6 13s. 4d. in gold. These visits probably enlarged the ideas of Henry, and the foundation was finally established on a much larger scale than that of the original charter. The number of clerks was increased from four to ten, that of the choristers from six to sixteen, and that of the scholars from twenty-five to seventy. The number of the almsmen, however, afterwards altogether abolished, was reduced from twenty-five to thirteen. But for the fact that there was no almshouse at Winchester, and that there were only three chaplains and three clerks on that foundation, instead of ten of each at Eton, the numbers were the same in each case.

In the course of his visits to Winchester Henry VI. no doubt had much intercourse with William of Waynflete, the Master, and learnt to appreciate his great qualities. Waynflete was probably educated at Winchester and New College. He became master of Winchester in 1429, and in 1442 Henry induced him to become the first master of Eton. Building had been begun there in 1441, and the foundation stone laid by the king himself below the future high altar. Though the progress was slow, enough had been done to allow the school to be opened in time for Waynflete's arrival. It has been generally supposed that he took half the foundation of Winchester, five fellows and thirty-five scholars, with him. But Mr. Leach tells us that the Winchester School lists for that year record that only six scholars left for Eton. Three of these

must have been near the end of their school days (one had been at Winchester eleven years) for they were admitted in the same year among the first fellows of King's. Mr. Leach rather unkindly suggests that they were "Winchester thicks," who, despairing of New College, were thought good enough for King's. We would rather believe that they were Waynflete's favourite scholars, whom he was reluctant to part with.

None of the fellows of Winchester accompanied Waynflete to Eton, though two fellows of New College seem to have been transplanted thither.

Waynflete can have been only a nominal head master, for in 1443 he succeeded Sever, the nominal provost. He held the post for four years only ; but for the rest of his life remained the generous protector of Eton through the dangers which threatened its infancy owing to the change of dynasty.

Bekynton, the Wykehamist secretary to Henry VI., was a constant visitor to the College. He carried through the negotiations for the Papal Bulls, accompanied the first King's Scholars who went from Eton to King's ; and when he became Bishop of Bath and Wells, in 1443, was consecrated in the old church at Eton, whence, after the service, he walked over to the new chapel, whose walls were fast rising from the ground. There a temporary altar had been erected, at which the bishop celebrated his first mass. In December of the same year he came to Eton again as commissioner with the Earl of Suffolk to open the College. Waynflete, already provost, appeared before them in

the choir of the old church, knelt down and swore obedience to the statutes ; after which he was formally installed and gave the oaths of obedience to the fellows, clerks, choristers, and scholars. The statutes, though added to during the next two years, were now practically complete, and remained nominally in force until 1872 ; though, as their contents will show, literal compliance with them had long become impossible. The statutes fix the numbers of the fellows, chaplains, scholars, choristers, and almsmen, and provide that if the revenues of the College decrease, the commons, salaries, and numbers of the different grades shall be reduced accordingly, the fellows' stipends being reduced least of all. The deposition of the founder brought this provision into action only too soon.

The provost is to be a Master or Bachelor in Divinity, or a Doctor of the Canon Law, and a Master of Arts, a priest, a native of England, at least thirty years old, and a former scholar of the College. All of these provisions, except that as to age, were violated in or before the seventeenth century. A new provost must be elected within a month of a vacancy.

New provosts must be admitted by the Bishop of Lincoln, the visitor to the College.

The provost's stipend is fixed at £75 a year with certain allowances, including twelve yards of cloth. He is to occupy rooms to the west of the college hall, not to be absent more than nine days in every year from the College, and to hold no benefice within seven miles of Eton.

In case of immorality, negligence, murder, or incurable contagious disease, he is to be removed by the fellows, and must consult them on any matters of importance.

The fellows must also be priests, Masters or Bachelors of Divinity, or Doctors of the Canon Law, Masters of Arts, and, like the provost, must be elected, within a month of vacancy, by their colleagues.

Their salary is fixed at £10 a year and six yards of cloth.

They must not be absent more than six weeks in a year from the College, and must retire within a year of obtaining a benefice. If guilty of heresy, magic simony, or theft, they are to be removed.

They must say daily matins and vespers in the chapel, and the vice provost, precentor, and sacristan are to be chosen yearly from among them.

The master is to be chosen by the provost and fellows, and is to be a Master of Arts, if possible, and a bachelor.

His yearly income is to consist of twenty-four marks, his commons, and six yards of cloth.

The usher is to be a layman and a bachelor, and, if possible, a Bachelor of Arts. His yearly income is to consist of ten marks, his commons, and five yards of cloth.

Neither the master nor the usher is to make any charge for instruction either to scholars, or commonsals (oppidans).

The scholars are to be chosen from poor and indigent boys, with an income of not more than five

marks, and of good character. They are to be not less than eight years old or more than twelve, unless particularly well instructed, in which case they may be admitted up to the age of seventeen. They must have some knowledge of reading, of the Latin grammar of Donatus, and of plain-song. They are to be chosen first from any natives of parishes in which either Eton or King's College hold property ; secondly, from any natives of the counties of Buckingham and Cambridge ; and failing those, from the native English. None must have any defect, bodily or otherwise, which will prevent his taking orders. Any scholar marrying, acquiring property worth £5 a year, taking the vows of any religious order, or being guilty of immorality, shall leave the college. Scholars may remain until the end of their eighteenth year, or if their names be on the indenture for King's, until their nineteenth.

Every scholar shall receive one gown and hood a year, and when he reaches the age of fifteen shall take an oath to observe the statutes, to guard the secrets of the College, and to be generally loyal to it. The election is to take place between the Feasts of the Translation of St. Thomas and the Assumption of the Virgin ; (July 7 and August 15) notices being hung upon the outer doors of the College and chapel four weeks beforehand.

The provost and fellows of King's, afterwards known as Posers, are to go to Eton on election day and, with their co-electors, the provost, vice-provost, and master of Eton, to elect the scholars within five days. They

are not to be influenced by the importunities or entreaties of kings or queens, princes or prelates, nobles or gentlemen, but only by the acquirements and characters of the candidates.

The election of scholars to King's College is to be conducted in the same manner and on the same principles.

The gown is to be a "toga talaris cum capicis," as in the Winchester statutes. It is interesting to note that the cloth for these gowns was bought at Winchester in 1444.

The commensals or oppidans are to be of two classes.¹ Those of the higher rank being sons of noblemen or of special friends of the College, and not more than twenty in number. These are to dine with the chaplain and the usher. The lower rank are to dine with the scholars and choristers, and the charge for their board is to be lower. Both are to be taught gratuitously.

Commons in hall are provided for every grade, at the rate of 1s. 6*d.* a week for the fellows and head master, provided they appear at least six times a week; 1s. 4*d.* for the chaplain and usher; and 10*d.* for the scholars and choristers, with an additional allowance of 6s. 8*d.* on great festivals. Portion of the Bible or of the Lives of the Fathers are to be read aloud during dinner; and the grace is to contain a requiem for the souls of Henry V. and Henry VI.

¹ They are called commensals in the statutes. They are first called oppidans in the audit book of 1557-58. (Sir H. Maxwell Lyte.)

A long grace is still sung in hall on Sundays both before and after dinner. It does not, of course, contain any prayer for the souls of the two kings, but is otherwise probably the same as that enjoined by the statute. It has been in print since 1686.

After grace everyone is to leave the hall without loitering, since people are more apt to quarrel with full than with empty stomachs. But when there is a fire in hall, out of reverence to God and His Mother or to any other saint, or on any of the great festivals, the scholars and fellows may remain a reasonable time after dinner and divert themselves with songs and other decent amusements, or with the discussion of poems, chronicles, and the wonders of the world.

All the servants of the College are to be male, except a laundress, whose age and character shall place her beyond suspicion. No other women are to be admitted into the college at any time. The gates of the College are to be shut before dark and opened at sunrise. No stranger is to sleep in College unless he be an old member of the foundation, or come on recognized business. No scholar or chorister may walk in the towns of Eton or Windsor without leave.

No fellow, chaplain, scholar, or chorister may wear long hair or a beard, or peaked shoes, or red, green, or white hose, or carry swords, knives, or arms; or keep hounds, ferrets, hawks, monkeys, bears, foxes, deer, badgers, or any unusual wild beasts in the College. Offenders against any of the rules shall be punished with loss of commons, or, if persistent, with expulsion.

Many of these statutes are copied almost word for word from the statutes of Winchester, and were afterwards copied by Waynflete in the statutes of his college of St. Mary Magdalene at Oxford. Waynflete was succeeded by William Westbury, also a Wykehamist, as head master. The relations between the



STEPS LEADING TO HALL.

foundations of Wykeham and of Henry VI. remained very friendly, and in 1448 the four colleges joined in a covenant of mutual assistance and support for all future ages in all suits of law.

In the same year also Henry VI. showed his admiration for Winchester by sending an actual piece of the ground on which the College stood to Eton, as

if he wished his own foundation to be, physically no less than morally, a graft of the older school.

In 1446 the provosts and fellows of King's and Eton combined in a petition to the king, asking for further books, vestments, and ornaments. In his will Henry left £500 to King's for jewels and £200 to



THE HALL IN 1816.

From Ackermann's "Eton College."

Eton for books. He also made several presentations to Eton of jewels and relics.

In 1447 Waynflete was created Bishop of Winchester. He was consecrated in the old collegiate church at Eton. The warden and some of the fellows of Winchester were present at the ceremony.

John Clerk, the vice-provost, succeeded Waynflete as provost, but died four months afterwards, and was succeeded by Westbury, the master.

The loss of Waynflete must have been a severe one to Eton, but it proved a benefit in the end, as he was able to protect the College, from his loftier position, against the dangers which threatened it under Edward IV.

In 1448 after the final and most magnificent scheme for the chapel (described in the account of the buildings) had been decided on, several large gifts of money were made to the College, no doubt in view of the great expenditure which would be necessary if the founder's plans were to be carried out. Thus the king himself gave £380, Waynflete about £70, and de la Pole, the Marquis of Suffolk, £666, an enormous sum of money in those days.

Meanwhile the speedy completion of the collegiate church was not even contemplated, a temporary chapel was built to protect the high altar at which Bekynton had said mass, and the old parish church was enlarged and decorated with new stalls and windows.

During the early years of the foundation it was natural that the provost should find it necessary to consult the king frequently on questions connected with the buildings and the constitution or the finances of the new College, and he was often called to London for this purpose. The king therefore granted to him the leper hospital of St. James in Westminster fields to be his town residence, with a large amount of land

attached to it. This property Henry VIII., seeing that its value would become enormous, forced the College to exchange for some land in a less valuable situation, and built the Palace of St. James where the provost's home had once been.

Arms were granted both to Eton and King's at the beginning of 1448. To Eton the king assigned "on a field sable three lily flowers argent, intending that our newly-founded College lasting for ages to come, whose perpetuity we wish to be signified by the stability of the sable colour, shall bring forth the brightest flowers redolent of every kind of knowledge. To which, also, that we may impart something of royal nobility, which may declare the work truly royal and illustrious, we have resolved that portions of the arms, which by royal right belong to us in the kingdoms of France and England, be placed on the chief of the shield per pale azure with a flower of the French and gules with a leopard passant or."¹ The arms granted to King's were the same but for the roses, which take the place of the lilies of Eton.

Both Eton and King's had been using these arms, or arms closely resembling them, before Henry's formal grant. An impression of the original seal of King's College shows the arms of Eton as they are now, but those of King's with a crozier issuing from a mitre between two lilies, in place of the roses afterwards granted.

Waynflete adopted the Eton lilies in his own arms

¹ Quoted from Sir H. Maxwell Lyte.

and so it comes about that the flowers on the shield of his beautiful foundation of Magdalen College, Oxford, are the lilies of Eton:

Henry maintained, during the whole of his troubled reign, his interest in the College and in the welfare of its scholars. He gave constantly to the building fund, and, like a later king, George III., whenever he met one of the scholars in the precincts of the castle, spoke to him and gave him good advice, and often a small present of money.

It is not pleasant, therefore, to read how readily the College authorities submitted to the Duke of York after his victory at Mortimer's Cross in 1460. As he marched with his army upon London, the Duke was met by a deputation from the College, which obtained from him a promise of protection in writing that is still preserved. In this document Edward, still calling himself Duke of York and "vray and just heire" of England, France, and Ireland, states that he has taken and received the Provost and "Felarship" of the College into his defence and safeguard.

This was well enough, and the College had obtained some return for its complaisance; but in November of the same year an Act of Parliament made all the grants of the House of Lancaster null and void, with some exceptions, it is true, but no mention of Eton among them. Thus Eton was, *ipso facto*, deprived of all its endowments. The king, however, soon after his accession gave many of them back, and exempted the College from all fines and scutages. But his favour did not last for long. He

had little interest in learning, and his jealousy of Henry increased. He therefore conceived the idea of turning the foundation to his own advantage by annexing it to the Chapel of St. George at Windsor. He applied to the Pope for the purpose, and obtained a Bull, abolishing the very name of the College, by which its members were to be transferred to like situations at Windsor. This Bull was issued on the 13th of November, 1463, but on the 15th of July of the same year, Westbury, the provost, had issued two addressès, one to the Pope, and one to the people of England, appealing against the Bull. Yet the Chapel of Windsor obtained an order for the removal of jewels and other valuables from Eton. Waynflete, no doubt, used all his influence, such as it remained, to protect his old college.

The further history of this dark period is obscure, but the accounts of the two colleges were always kept separately, and it is probable that the union was never actually carried out. But in any case, the condition of Eton was bad enough. The income had sunk from £1,500 a year to £370. The almsmen were suppressed, the fellowships left vacant, and the scholars reduced in number. In 1468 the provost and fellows received no income, and the salaries of the master and usher were reduced.

In 1469 the king, for reasons unknown, abandoned his purpose of annexation, and the provost and fellows received their arrears of income. But henceforth the provost's income remained at £20, instead of £50, and that of the fellows at £5, instead of £10. The

number of fellowships had sunk from ten to four, and was gradually increased to seven, at which number it remained. Finally, the Pope's Bull of union was formally revoked, and Provost Westbury, by some means or other, gained the precarious favour of the king, and frequently visited him in London.

For a few months in 1470 Henry was restored to the throne, and remembered to send a Christmas greeting to his college at Eton.

The next year there is an entry in the audit note of expenses allowed to the provost for riding to London the day after Ascension Day to be present at the funeral of Henry VI. So the College saw the last of its Founder. But in the same year it received three visits from Edward and his wife with a large retinue, and it seems that from that time he took the College finally into his favour. Westbury even obtained a letter under the Privy Seal ordering the Chapter of Windsor to restore the goods taken from Eton, under which the bells, which had been long at St. George's, were restored, together with some copes and other vestments. Anthony, Lord Rivers, the queen's brother and a patron of Caxton, also befriended Eton, and obtained for it a royal grant of some property in the City of London, and the provost and fellows bound themselves to say a mass daily for the good of his soul.

This was only proper gratitude, but in 1474 the original seal of the College, containing a figure of Henry VI., was abandoned, and a new seal, with the supporters of Edward on each side of the arms of France and England, adopted—a deliberate slight on

the gentle memory of the Founder which no consideration of policy can excuse.



THE CHAPEL IN 1816.

From Ackermann's "Eton College."

In 1470 the building of the chapel was resumed, mainly, it is supposed, at the expense of Waynflete.

Indeed, all the College contracts for building materials were at this time made in his name. There is no record of any assistance given by the king, except the permission to dig for chalk and flint in Windsor Park. Naturally, under these circumstances it was found necessary to modify the magnificent plans of the founder, and a small ante-chapel was substituted for the great nave which he had contemplated. In 1476 the chapel was ready for glazing, but the College remained poor, below its numbers, and full of anxieties for the future, when Westbury died in 1477. He was buried in the chapel, but his brass has been destroyed though the epitaph is extant, written in vile elegiacs. Westbury was succeeded by Bost, a nominee of the king, who remained at the same time provost of Queen's College, Oxford, and also of King's Hall, Cambridge. He is said to have been the confessor of Jane Shore, of whom there are two reputed portraits at Eton, and one at King's. There is a tradition that Jane exercised her influence over the king in favour of Eton. In Bost's epitaph it is stated that:

*"Illius auspiciis elemosyna conjugis uncti
Edwardi Quarti larga pluebat opem."*

It seems impossible that the king's mistress should have been called his "conjux," or that any allusion to such a connection could have been made in such an inscription. The epitaph, therefore, must be taken as evidence that Queen Elizabeth Woodville was a benefactor to the College. Edward made no further attacks upon the endowments of Eton, and so it passed

through the most perilous period of its history, not indeed unscathed, for its buildings were never carried out on the magnificent scale planned by the founder ; but with enough of revenue and reputation to set it upon an equality with Winchester and above the other existing schools in the kingdom.

A curious light is thrown upon the familiar life of Eton in this dark period when so little is known of its history, by the three Paston letters which refer to William Paston when a boy at Eton. These have been often quoted, but are so valuable and interesting that they must be quoted once again. William Paston was the son of John Paston and the younger brother of Sir John Paston, who was the friend of Lord Rivers, the brother of Elizabeth Woodville. Rivers, as we have seen, was a benefactor of the College, and it was perhaps by his advice that William was sent to Eton.

He was an oppidan or commensal, the earliest, indeed, of whom we know anything, since he was at Eton within forty years of its foundation.

The following letter was written by his mother to Sir John Paston complaining of the expense of the boy's schooling.

"And as for yowyr brothyr Wylliam, I wulde ye xulde purvey for hys fyndyng, for as I tolde yow the laste tyme that ye ware at home, I wuld no longer fynde hym at my cost and charge ; hys boorde and his scole hyer ys owying sythyn (since) Seynt Thomas day afore Christmesse, and he hathe great neede of gownys and odyr gere that whare necessary for hym to have in haste. I wulde ze sculde remembyrt & purvey them, for as for me, I wul nat. I thynke ze sette butte leytyl be myn blessing, And iff ye dede, ye wulde a (have) desyrd yt in yowyr wrytynge to me. God make yow a good man to Hys plesans."

On the 7th November, 1478, William writes to his brother as follows. He was then nineteen years old.

"Right reverent & worchepful brodyr, I recomaunde me on to yow, desyrynge to here of youre welfare and prosperite; letyng yow wete [know] that I have resevyd of Alwedyr a lettyr and a nobyll in gowlde therein. Ferthermor my creansyr [tutor] Mayster Thomas hertely recomandyd hym to yow and he praythe yow to sende hym som mony for my comons; for he seythe ye be XX^{us} in hys dette, for a monthe was to pay for when he had mony laste.

"Also I beseche yow to sende me a hose clothe, one for the haly-days of sum coloure, and a nothyr for the working days, how corse so ever it be it makyth no matyr; and a stomechere, and ij schyrtes and a peyer of sclyppers. And if it lyke yow that I may come with Alwedyr be watyr, & sporte me with yow at London a day or ij thys terme tyme, than ye may let all thys be tyl the tyme that I come, and than I wol telle you when I schall be redy to come from Eton by the grace of God, Whom have yow in Hys keepyng. Wretyn the Saturday next aftyr All Halown Day with the hand of your brodyr,

"WYLLIAM PASTON."

Note the artful manner in which the question of a "long leave" to London is introduced, as if William only wished to consult the convenience of Sir John.

A little more than three months after William writes again to his brother. He no longer thinks of clothes or of "long leave." He has become a man suddenly. After some sentences on indifferent matters he begins without preparation:

"And as for the yong jentylwoman, I wol certyfye yow how I fryste felle in qweyntaince with hyr. Hir ffader is dede; there be ij systers of them; the elder is just weddyd; at the wych weddyng, I was with myn hostes, and also desyryd by the jentyl-

man hymselfe cawlyd Wylliam Swanne, whos dwyllynge is in Eton.

"So it fortuneth that myn hostes reportyd on me odyrwyse than I was wordy ; So that hyr moder comaundyd hyr to make me good chere, and soo in good feythe sche ded. Sche is not abydyng ther sche is now ; hyr dwellyng is in London ; but hyr moder and sche come to a place of hyrs v. myle from Eton, were the wedding was, for because it was nye to the jentylman whych weddyd hyr dowtyr. And on Monday next comynge, that is to say, the fyrst Monday of Clene Lente, hyr Moder and sche wyl goo to the pardon at Schene, & soo forthe to London, and ther to abyde in a place of hyrs in Bowe Chyrche Yarde ; and if it plese yow to inquire of hyr, hyr modyr's name is Mestres Alborow, The name of the dowtyr is Margarete Alborow, the age of hyr is be all lykelyod xvij or xix yere at the fertheeste. And as for the mony & plate, it is redy when soo ever sche were weddyd ; but as for the lyvelod (income), I trow not tyll after hyr modyrs desese, but I cannot telle yow, for very certeyn, but yow may know by inquiryng. And as for hyr bewte juge yow that when ye see hyr, yf so be that ye take the laubore, and specially beolde hyr handys, for and if it be as it is tolde me, sche is dysposyd to be thyke.

And as for my comynge from Eton, I lake no thyng but versyfyng, whyche I troste to have with a lytyll contynuaunce.

Quare, quomodo non valet hora, valet mora,
Unde di—

Arbore jam videas exemplum : non die possunt
Omnia suppleri ; sed tamen illa mora.

And thes too verse afore seyde be of myn own makynge.'

The first line is apparently the subject set by the master on which William is to versify. We may supply "dico" or "dictum est" for the imperfect word.

The examples which William gives certainly support his statement that he lacked versifying. It has

been justly remarked that if Smyth, the then head master, had anything in him of the spirit of Keate, this effort of Master William can have had only one result.

During the reigns of Edward V. and Richard III. the endowments of the College remained free from attack. There is a record in the audit rolls of expenses allowed to the provost and one of the fellows for attending the coronation of Richard III., at which time, perhaps, they obtained that portrait of him now in possession of the College ; but they probably shared in the general rejoicings caused by the news of Bosworth. There is a tradition, false no doubt, that Henry VII. was the first of eminent Etonians ; but, at any rate, he was a Lancastrian and might be expected to favour the foundation of a Lancastrian king. Soon after his accession a statue of Henry VI. was restored, and the entry referring to it in the audit rolls speaks of him as the most devout king, the founder of the College. In the first year of Henry's reign died Waynflete, after the Founder, the most continuous and munificent benefactor of Eton. His splendid chantry is in Winchester Cathedral.

In 1489 Eton and King's College presented a petition to the king speaking of the "great decaye and ympoverysing" to which they had been subject under the Yorkist kings, and asking that a commission might be appointed to inquire into the titles of all estates formerly held by either of them. By this means they recovered some of their lost property. They also received some new endowments from private

persons, including land at Windsor given by Bost the provost.

He died in 1504, and was succeeded by Roger Lupton, who had not been connected with Eton in any way before his election. The name of Lupton is known to every Etonian from the chapel which he built at his own expense, and enriched with ornaments and vestments.

During the reign of Henry VII. the College revenue was much increased, and much building was done out of the ordinary income. Henry VIII. visited Eton in 1510, the year after his accession. He gave about £4 to the College, and the cost of his entertainment was £18, so that it was a source rather of honour than of profit. In 1510 Eton was visited by the plague, and the boys were removed to Langley. About this time the study of Greek was introduced into the school. Sir Thomas Pope, the founder of Trinity College, Oxford, wrote in 1556, "I remember when I was a young scholler at Eton the Greke tongue was growing apace."

In 1525 an effort was made to raise the number of fellowships to their original number of ten, but this was not achieved for another hundred years.

Of the dealings of Henry VIII. with the College it was said :

"Henricus Octavus

Took away more than he gave us,"

and this was certainly true not only of his first visit, but of a later and very important transaction.

Henry VI. had given to Eton the hospital of St.

James at Westminster. Henry VIII. took this away from the College, and gave in exchange other lands of much less value even at that time. When it is stated that the land attached to the hospital included sixty-four acres immediately to the south of Piccadilly, and ninety-four to the north, some idea may be obtained of the possibilities of wealth which Henry took from the College. On part of the land so obtained he built St. James's Palace.

The provost and fellows acquiesced without a protest in the earlier stages of the Reformation, and unanimously acknowledged the Act of Supremacy. In 1535, when a general valuation was made of ecclesiastical property, that tithes might be paid to the king, the College net income was valued at £1,000. Soon after, however, the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge and the Colleges of Winchester and Eton were exempted from payment of such tithes on condition that masses should be said for Henry and Anne Boleyn twice a year.

Lupton resigned in 1535, a few months after the death of Horman. He was succeeded by Robert Aldrich, the first provost who had been educated at Eton and King's. His learning is mentioned by Erasmus, and he, while head master, was probably chiefly instrumental in introducing the study of Greek into the school. Soon after his election he was appointed Bishop of Carlisle and almoner to the queen. He was also a keen politician, so that he could give but little time to the affairs of the College.

Cox, a fanatic Lutheran, succeeded Aldrich as head



Photo.

LUPTON'S CHAPEL.

T. P.

master, and was himself succeeded in 1534 by the famous Nicholas Udall, "the best schoolmaster and the greatest beater of our time." Tusser is moved to record his severities in verse thus :

"From Powles I went, to Aeton sent
To learne straightwayes the Latin phraise,
Where fifty-three Stripes given to mee
At once I had ;
For faut but small or none at all,
It came to pass thus beat I was ;
See, Udall, see, the mercy of thee
To mee, poore lad."

Udall was a most picturesque character, being at once a man of learning, the writer of the first English comedy, perhaps a robber, and certainly a loose liver. His famous play, "Ralph Royster Doyster," often mentioned if seldom read, was written to be acted by his scholars. For some time it had been customary for the boys to act plays in the hall at Christmas, and this is one indication among many of the large part the theatre played in the life of England before the great period of the Elizabethan drama.

In 1525 ten shillings were spent by the College for ornaments for two plays performed at Christmas. An inventory of a few years later speaks of a "great cheste bound about with yron to keep the players' coats in," and proceeds to give a list of theatrical garments, false beards, etc. "Ralph Royster Doyster" is more or less an imitation of Plautus. It has been lately revived in America with a chorus of Udall's pupils. The play was not printed until 1566.

In 1541 Udall was accused of complicity in a robbery of plate, for which two scholars of Eton and one of Udall's servants were arrested. Udall himself was examined, and though the charge was probably not proved against him, he was incidentally discovered to have been guilty of gross immorality. He was imprisoned in the Marshalsea prison, and a certain Tynedale succeeded him as head master. Vain attempts were afterwards made to reinstate Udall. He was released, though not reinstated, and, curiously enough, became head master of Westminster.

In 1545 the College was threatened by as great a danger as ever in the reign of Edward IV., for in that year Henry obtained a grant of all chantries, free chapels, hospitals, and colleges.

In 1546 the King's Commissioners went to Eton and prepared a report of the revenues of the College, and a valuation of the plate, which was about 3,000 ounces in weight. Eton was perhaps only preserved by the death of Henry from further spoliation. The bill passed in the beginning of the next reign for the suppression of all colleges, chantries, and free chapels, specially excepted the two Universities and the Colleges of Eton and Windsor from its scope.

Aldrich, who resigned the provostship soon after the passing of this act, was succeeded by Dr. Thomas Smith, the first layman to be provost of Eton, his layman successors being Savile, Murray, and Wotton. Smith was a man of learning, and the author of a scheme for the phonetic spelling of English and of a phonetic alphabet of thirty-four letters. Following

his example, the master, Barker, married a wife, obtaining a royal licence for that purpose.

Smith was a supporter of the Reformation, and during his provostship the services of the chapel were much altered. The images on the high altar were removed, and the embroidered frontals sold, and a book of the Homilies and a copy of the New Communion book purchased. An attempt also was made to omit the name of the Virgin from leases and other formal documents, but a lease granted in the name "Præpositi et Sociorum Collegii Regalis de Eton" was afterwards declared void, and the "description" of the College remained unaltered in legal documents even under the Puritans.

When Queen Mary came to the throne the provost and fellows, true to their policy of compliance, restored the high altar and the holy water stoup. Three married fellows were expelled the College, and three Roman Catholics put in their place.

Smith resigned in 1554, probably owing to these changes, and Henry Cole succeeded him. He had been warden of New College. The services were again rearranged by him, and new vestments bought. He preached the sermon at Oxford before the burning of Cranmer. He was soon afterwards appointed Dean of St. Paul's. On the accession of Elizabeth, Cole was chosen to open a disputation between the reformers and the supporters of the old religion in Westminster Hall. He used more abuse than argument, was fined 500 marks for his pains, deprived of all his offices, and imprisoned in the Fleet.

A Royal Commission was appointed to visit Cambridge and Eton, and William Bill, one of the commissioners, was elected provost. The Commissioners never visited Eton, being apparently satisfied by Bill of the obedience of the College. Bill was also, and at the same time, Master of Trinity, Cambridge, and Dean of Westminster. He was a moderate man, and reforms under his guidance were gradual and discreet. All the old festivals were kept up, and the services held in Latin for the benefit of the scholars, by special leave of the queen. The same favour was granted to Winchester. The high altar was finally abolished in 1559, and in 1560 the famous frescoes were covered with whitewash by the College barber. About the year 1560 a volume of Latin verses was presented to the queen by the scholars of Eton, many of which express a hope that she may soon find a husband and bear children.

Bill died in 1561, and the fellows proceeded to elect Richard Bruerne in his place, whose sympathies were with the Papists. Whereupon the queen ordered Parker, Archbishop of Canterbury, to inquire into the matter, and Bruerne was forced to resign. After some hesitation, William Day, whose celibacy was a recommendation, was elected. But he proceeded at once to take a wife. He was an eager Protestant, and proceeded further with the defacement of the chapel, tearing down a tabernacle of stone in the body of the church and whitewashing Lupton's chapel. When the queen came to Windsor in 1565, to escape the plague, the boys again welcomed her with Latin verses, some of

which were contributed by Giles Fletcher, the poet. The collection ends with a prayer in which the boys ask, not altogether spontaneously, perhaps, that the queen may do something for their "dearest master, by whose kindness and extreme watchfulness by day and by night we have in a short time obtained such proficiency in literature," and that she will not "suffer him to be oppressed by any grievous want or to be ground down by ceaseless labours and studies." The head master's (Malim's) "extreme watchfulness" was not always so thoroughly appreciated, for we hear of some of his pupils running away to escape a beating. He was the author of the "Consuetudinarium," the subject of the next chapter.



THE SCHOOLYARD IN 1816.
(From Ackermann.)

CHAPTER II

SCHOOL LIFE IN THE XVI CENTURY

WILLIAM MALIM was head master from 1555 to 1563 (the dates are only approximate) and his "Consuetudinarium" was written about 1560-61, probably for the Royal Commissioners who visited Eton in the latter year. The manuscript is in the possession of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge. The full title is "Consuetudinarium vetus Scholæ Ætonensis," and the work is an account of contemporary life at Eton. It is divided into two parts, the first describing the customs, the second the regular routine of the school. It is written in Latin. There is a contemporaneous

account of Winchester written by Christopher Johnson, which, according to Sir Henry Maxwell Lyte, is of much greater interest.

The following account of a day in the life of an Eton scholar in the sixteenth century is taken from the second part of the "Consuetudinarium."

At 5 a.m. he was awakened by a præpostor, who called out "Surgite" at the top of his voice. While dressing he chanted his prayers. Then he made his bed, sweeping the dust from under it, which was removed by four boys chosen by the præpostor. After which he took his turn with another boy at the "Children's Pump," and as soon as he was washed went into school, where prayers were read by the usher at six. The usher taught the four lowest forms, and meanwhile one of the præpostors made a list of those boys who had been late for prayers, and another, the præpostor immundanorum, examined all faces and hands, and reported the dirty ones to the head master, who appeared at seven, and took the Fourth Form. Lessons learnt the night before were then repeated, the privilege of beginning which belonged to the custos or dunce, an official position attached to every form, and given to the boy last discovered talking in English in school, missing three words in repeating a rule of grammar, or making three mistakes in spelling. There is no mention of breakfast, but we may perhaps assume that the boys broke their fast in an interval before ten o'clock. At that hour one of the præpostors shouted "Ad preces consurgite," and further prayers were recited. Dinner took place at eleven. School began

again at twelve, and lasted till three. Then at last came an hour for play, then another hour of work, and at five, supper. From six to eight the boys were left in the charge of the Seventh Form, under whose superintendence they translated from English into Latin; at seven for a short time "*potum dimittuntur*," and at eight they went to bed, again chanting prayers. It will be seen from this that the boys had at least ten hours of work and prayer, and only one hour in the day for play.

Friday was not only a day of fasting, but a day of punishment for all the offences of the week :

"*Proh ! dolor, heu ! Veneris lux sanguinolenta propinquat ;
Sanguineamque voco, nam si peccaveris hujus
Hebdomadæ spatio, pænas patiêre cruentas.*"

This is strong language, but it probably expresses the feelings of the boys with regard to the day.

There is little evidence in the "*Consuetudinarium*" that anything except Latin was taught. Pope, indeed, tells us that the study of Greek introduced to Eton at the beginning of the century was much decayed.

The books studied were :

In the First Form : The "*Disticha de Moribus ad Filium*" of Dionysius Cato and the "*Exercitatio Linguae Latinæ*" of J. Luis Vives, the famous Spanish Humanist, of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, who had considerable influence on Elizabethan literature.

In the Second Form : Terence, Lucian's Dialogues (in a Latin translation) and Æsop's Fables (also in Latin).

In the Third Form : Terence, Æsop's Fables, and selections from Cicero's letters.

In the Fourth Form : Terence, Ovid's *Tristia*, and Epigrams of Martial, Catullus, and Sir Thomas More.

In the Fifth Form : Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, Horace, Cicero's letters, Valerius Maximus, Lucius Florus, Justin the historian, and the "*Epitome Troporum ac Schematum et Grammaticorum et Rhetoricorum*" of Sysembrotus (Susenbrotus).

In the Sixth and Seventh Forms : Cicero de *Officiis* and de *Amicitia*, Cæsar's Commentaries, Virgil, Lucian, Greek Grammar, and other books according to the choice of the master.

It will be seen from this that the selection of Latin authors was very large, larger probably than that in most schools at the present day, but that there was little attempt to discriminate between what is excellent in matter and style and what is mediocre and even worthless. Lucian was always a favourite author at Eton until the use of the "*Scriptores Græci*," which contains a large number of selections from him, was discontinued.¹ Grammar, of course, was taught, the lower boys learning their conjugations and declensions, and the more advanced repeating rules, also in Latin, with examples, which they learnt by heart. Lessons in composition, both prose and verse, occurred daily, the younger boys translating sentences into Latin, and the older writing on a theme proposed by the master. Only the boys in the two highest forms wrote verses.

It was the custom of the masters to read over to

¹ "*Annals of Eton College*," W. Sterry, p. 72.

the boys the authors they were studying, and to call plain difficult passages ; and of the boys to collect from these readings phrases, idioms, epithets, synonyms, similes, witty sayings, apophthegms, etc., which, no doubt, they reproduced in their own compositions. This is a much more rational method than the indiscriminate use of the "Gradus," still often allowed.

As to the general discipline of the school, the Seventh, Sixth, and Fifth Forms composed the Upper School, the Fourth Form being apparently half in one school and half in the other, and the Third, Second, and First Forms the Lower.

There seem to have been no assistant masters at this period, and any duties which would now fall on them were undertaken by the præpostors, who were eighteen in number, their duties being very different from the merely formal offices of the præpostors of our own day. Four of them were employed to keep order in the school, and to report all absentees ; four in the dormitory, and four in the playing fields, two in chapel, and one in hall.¹ Two presided over the Commensales, now beginning to be called Oppidans, and one, known as the præpostor immundanorum, inspected the hands and faces of the boys, and reported such as were dirty.

The first half of the "Consuetudinarium" is called the Calendarium, and describes the holidays and customs of each month of the year.

¹ It is interesting to note in this connection that the "præfect of hall" at Winchester occupies the same position as the captain of the school at Eton.

January began with the winter holidays, spent, however at Eton. On New Year's day the boys played "pro strenulis," that is to say, for gifts. They also composed verses to be presented to the provost, fellows, and master, and among themselves "ominis boni gratia." Until the middle of this century it was the duty of the captain of the school to compose a set of verses, known as the calendar copy from the kalends of January, on the chief events of the year ; and this was no doubt a survival of the custom just noticed. The custom still survives at Winchester. The holidays closed with the feast of the Epiphany. The 13th of January was the feast of Waynflete, on which day every boy received twopence.

About the date of the conversion of St. Paul the boys went in the customary manner "ad Montem." This is the earliest notice extant of the "Montem" procession.

On February 7th and 27th the deaths of provosts Bost and Lupton respectively were celebrated. On the latter date each boy received a penny from Lupton's bequest.

The Monday before Ash Wednesday was a holiday after nine o'clock, and the boys wrote verses in praise or dispraise of Father Bacchus, "since poets are said to be the clients of Dionysus." Pepys speaks of the custom to make verses at Shrovetide, but on the occasion of his visit in 1665 the subject was a less cheerful one, namely, the plague. These verses were hung upon rolls, either in the hall or on the "inner doors of the College," that is to say, the doors of

Lupton's tower. Verses made at this time were called Bacchus copies, long after Bacchus had ceased to be their subject ; and one of them, written by Porson, is still to be seen in the school library.

Shrove Tuesday was also a holiday after eight o'clock. A crow was taken on that day from its nest and hung, with a pancake attached to it, to the school door. There was a general custom in England of tormenting birds on Shrove Tuesday, usually cocks ; and it was said by a foreigner that on that day the English, after eating pancakes, go mad and kill their cocks.

Malim has struck out the passage in his "Consuetudinarium" describing the ceremonies of Ash Wednesday ; perhaps they were abolished soon after the passage was written, but that does not deprive them of their interest.

At ten o'clock on that day all the boys went to church and chose confessors from among the fellows and chaplains. The names of those who received absolution were inscribed on rolls by the præpostors of the chapel. On the next four days the boys "expiated their offences."

On the Wednesday in Holy Week, after nine o'clock, the boys practised writing, the more expert drawing figures, which the others copied.

On Maundy Thursday there was a holiday after dinner. Certain boys, chosen by the master, communicated, after which they were feasted at a separate table.

On Good Friday there was another writing lesson,

and an address from the master, lasting an hour or more, on the Eucharist.

On Easter Eve again a writing lesson, a holiday after dinner, and bed at seven, so that the boys might rise at the third watch and celebrate the Resurrection, while three or four of the older ones were chosen by the head master to watch the Sepulchre with lights, "lest the Jews should steal the Lord, or rather lest any damage should be caused by careless watching of the lights."

Malim gives us to understand that this custom had been discontinued, no doubt since the Reformation, and the second reason he gives for it seems to show that he regarded it with disfavour as a mere superstition.

On Easter Monday the boys fell back into their ordinary round of work.

On May-day any boys who wished rose at four. They were warned not to get their feet wet, and then went out to pluck branches of may, with which, as the common custom of England was,¹ they decorated the windows of the dormitory. They also celebrated the coming of Spring in English verse, with quotations from the Latin poets.

From the 6th of May onwards the boys were allowed to sleep in school after dinner until three o'clock, when they partook of "bever," that is to say, beer and bread, in hall, a meal which survived in the summer term until 1889, when it was abolished, no doubt rightly, for

¹ Compare Herrick :

"Whenas a thousand virgins on this day
Spring sooner than the lark to fetch in may."

though the survival may have been "picturesque," it cannot be good for boys to drink as much beer as they wish on hot summer afternoons. The word "bever" survives also at Winchester and Westminster, and among rustics in different parts of the country, who usually use it for any irregular meal of beer and bread.

From the 6th of May, also, the boys were allowed to play from seven to eight p.m.

All these privileges are summed up in a verse :

"Porta Latina pilum, pulvinar, pocula præstat,"

the 6th of May being the feast of St. John ante Portam Latinam. On the 21st of May the boys received *2d.* apiece in memory of the death of the founder. Holidays began on Ascension day and lasted until the eve of the feast of Corpus Christi, about three weeks in all. At last the boys were allowed to visit their friends and relations ; those who failed to return by bedtime on the eve of the feast of Corpus Christi being flogged. The customs of Midsummer day and St. Peter's day had been abolished before the "Consuetudinarium" was written. On the eves of those days the boys decorated their bedsteads with pictures and with verses on St. John and St. Peter. On the days themselves they were allowed a "long lie," but only until six o'clock in the morning. After saying prayers they lit bonfires to the east of the church and stood round them while the choir sang antiphons. These bonfires were common to the schools of England.

The notices of elections were posted on the College

gates seven weeks beforehand, announcing that the election is open to all boys "*liberalis ingenia et egregia indolis.*"

The election took place at the end of July, and the provost and two fellows from King's College, known as the posers, came for that purpose. They were received by the Provost of Eton at the College gate, and until comparatively lately the captain of the school welcomed them with a Latin oration.

During election week there was a holiday after dinner for five days. August 15th, the feast of the Assumption, once the most solemn festival in the year, was still a whole holiday. On August 29th, the feast of the beheading of St. John the Baptist, the privileges beginning on the 6th of May came to an end.

On a certain day in September the boys were allowed to go out and gather nuts, some of which they gave to the master and fellows. They also wrote verses in praise of apple-bearing autumn and lamenting the approach of winter.

On all holy days between October 13th (translation of St. Edward Confessor) and Easter the boys rose at four to receive religious instruction.

All Saints' day was a holiday. On St. Hugh's day it had been the custom to elect a boy bishop, but the ceremony was abolished by Henry VIII. in 1543, for which a proclamation was necessary, since the festival is enjoined in the statutes: "On the feast of St. Nicholas we allow divine service, except the secrets of the Mass, to be performed by a boy bishop of the

scholars, chosen from among them every year for that purpose."

The feast of St. Nicholas occurs on December 6th, and since the boy bishop was elected on St. Hugh's day, November 13th, it has been supposed that there were two boy bishops, one for Collegers and one for the Oppidans. But there seems to be no reason why the boy bishops should not have been elected on St. Hugh's day, the appropriate festival for the purpose, and have performed his offices on the later date. It is known, indeed, that elsewhere the boy bishop held office from St. Nicholas' day to Holy Innocents' day.

The boy bishop and his followers were called "Nicholas and his clerks." They were dressed exactly like a bishop and his clergy. There is an entry in the audit book of 1587: "*Pro reparatione le rochet pro episcopo puerorum xi^d.*"

At the end of November the master chose the plays which the boys were to perform at Christmas. These were usually Latin, probably Plautus and Terence, but occasionally English, if sufficiently witty.

There are many entries in the audit books of expenses in connection with these plays, as for "beardds for the players," and "mendynge of the players rayment;" "item to the minstrells;" "for ii dossen of links for the children's shows," etc.

The Christmas holidays lasted from the 20th of December to the feast of the Epiphany, during which time the boys had writing lessons. Some of the boys composed epigrams and poems in contest with each

other, without the superintendence or even knowledge of the master, who was sometimes obliged to advise over-eager scholars to give more of their time to play. The character of the schoolboy must have altered with the lapse of centuries.

Christmas Day was a whole holiday, the boys going to bed at seven, since it had been the custom in the past to wake them up between three and four on the next morning for matins.

Malim says little or nothing of the commensals or oppidans. From the very first their existence was contemplated by the statutes, which divides them into two classes, the superior taking their meals in hall with the chaplain, usher, and clerks, while the inferior sat with the ordinary scholars.

Sir Henry Maxwell Lyte states that the number of oppidans increased greatly after the dissolution of the monasteries. By the statutes they were taught gratis ; but the cost of board and lodging was always on the increase, and a bill of the reign of Queen Mary seems to show that at that time a charge was made for teaching. The charge for board for the inferior class of commensals was about 1*s.* a week, and for the superior class about 1*s.* 8*d.* a week. The commensals seem to have worn gowns as well as the collegers.



THE HEAD MASTER'S HOUSE, AND ENTRANCE TO THE CLOISTER.

CHAPTER III

ETON FROM 1570 TO 1700

ABOUT the year 1570 the great screen was removed from the chapel. The work of removal occupied three weeks. There is an entry in the audit book of the same date of payment to certain labourers "for two daies brekinge down images and filling three places (niches?) wth stone and plaster."

By a letter dated the 11th of June, 1566, Elizabeth made an important change in the constitution of the College. By the statutes of the founder it was unlawful for any fellow of Eton to hold any other kind

of preferment whatsoever. If a fellow obtained a benefice he was allowed to retain his fellowship for one year of grace ; after that he was bound to vacate it ; and it was further provided that no dispensation from this condition was to be given on any account whatever. Elizabeth, however, by the letter above-mentioned, gave leave to the fellows to hold one living each with an income not exceeding 40 marks, giving as a reason for the change that the "pryce mete for mayntenance of hospitalitie and lyving is far greter at this daye than ben in former tymes." There can be little doubt that this change had a bad effect upon the College, and that the fellows who hitherto had taken a considerable part in the education of the scholars, from that time became more and more useless until their final abolition.

While Day was provost, laymen were for the first time appointed head masters of Eton. One of these, Sherwood by name, afterwards became a physician. Another, Thomas Ridley, was appointed a master in Chancery, and knighted by James I.

In 1595 Day was raised to the see of Winchester, and resigned his provostship.

On Day's resignation Cecil wrote to the fellows ordering them not to elect a new provost until the queen's pleasure should be known. The office, therefore, remained in abeyance for some months. Finally Henry Savile, the warden of Merton College, Oxford, was appointed. Savile was a layman and Latin secretary to the queen. He was a man of great learning, both secular and theological, and had been

Elizabeth's tutor in Greek and mathematics. He remained warden of Merton after his election to the provostship. He found the college library in a very poor condition and housed in a dilapidated building, the books being few in number and old. He therefore sent a carpenter to Oxford to inspect the Bodleian Library, lately founded there by Sir Thomas Bodley, and on his return new shelves and presses were erected for the books. From this time large sums were spent every year in the purchase and binding of books.

In 1601 Savile fell out of favour with his patron, Essex, and was arrested, but only imprisoned for a short time.

While he was provost occurred the visit of the queen to Eton, well known to every Etonian, or at least to every collegier, by the inscription carved on the panelling of the hall—

“Queen Elizabeth ad nos gave October x
2 loves in a mes 1596.”

The two “loves” [loaves] are still given.

Savile was knighted by James I. after a banquet at the College. He is said to have been a man of a jealous and austere temper, and would fain “have been thought to have been as great a scholar as Joseph Scaliger.” He was not popular either with other men of learning or with the fellows and scholars of Eton; with the fellows because he often chose aliens for promotion, with the boys because of his

severity. He preferred a plodding boy to a clever one. "If I would look for wits," he said, "I would go to Newgate. There be the wits."

In 1601 he founded the Savilian professorships of geometry and astronomy at Oxford. He was engaged on the revision of the Bible, and his chief work is his edition of the writings of St. Chrysostom, which was printed at Eton, in a printing press set up by Savile in what was till lately the head master's house in Weston's Yard. This printing press gained a European reputation with the great work which was issued from it. It is said that one of the printers was bribed to send over the sheets to Paris, from which another edition was reproduced and issued with a Latin translation, so that the two editions "did together run a race in the world." The work cost Savile £8,000, and did not pay expenses. The price was lowered from £9 to £8, and afterwards even to £3. A few other books of less importance were also issued from the Eton press. After the death of Savile the type was bought by Oxford University, and lent by that body to Cambridge.

At this period John Chamber, a fellow of the College and a writer on astronomy, founded two scholarships at Merton of the value of £65, besides rooms and commons, to be held by boys superannuated for admission to King's. The holders of these scholarships are called Postmasters (Portionistæ), and the scholarships are nominally in the gift of the provosts of Eton and King's.

Though Savile was unpopular among the King's

men for his appointment of aliens to fellowships, there is no doubt that he did much to increase the reputation and utility of the College by such appointments. Among the fellows of his creating were Thomas Savile, his younger brother, Richard Montague, and the "ever-memorable" John Hales.

John Hales, like Dr. Johnson, was more famous for his conversation than for his writings. He was the intimate friend of Ben Jonson, Davenant, Suckling, and Falkland. Wotton called him "our Bibliotheca ambulans." Born at Bath in 1584, he was professor of Greek to the University of Oxford and a fellow of Merton, where he was discovered by Savile. He became a fellow of Eton in 1613. He suffered for his loyalty, and died very poor in 1656. He was of small stature. "One of the least men in the kingdom, and one of the greatest scholars in Europe." His more serious studies were theological, and his most famous work, "The Religion of Protestants, a Safe Way to Salvation," written in collaboration with his friend Chillingworth; but he is best known, perhaps, for his public dispute in his rooms at Eton, in which he established, to the satisfaction of a jury of poets and men of learning, that "All the poets of antiquity were outdone by Shakespeare, in all the topics and commonplaces made use of in poetry." This happened some time before 1640. Lord Falkland and Sir John Suckling were among the judges. A great many books were sent down by the enemies of the poet, and after a thorough disquisition of the point the learned and ingenious assembly unanimously

gave the preference to Shakespeare.¹ The incident is of great interest as showing that already the reputation of Shakespeare was, in a certain circle at least, as high as it is now. It was owing to the presence of such men, no doubt, that the fame of the school spread far and wide, so much so that Casaubon placed his son on the foundation, and at the election of 1613 there were more than a hundred candidates for admission.

The number of Oppidans also increased. In 1615 there is a record of a payment to a joiner "for a little table to lanthen the Commensall's table in the Hall, their number being gretter than before could sett at it." There were over fifty of these students at Eton at this time, and they paid 3*s.* 6*d.* a week for board at the third table, and 2*s.* 6*d.* at the second. Sir H. Maxwell Lyte states that "the total expense of a Commensal's education in the reign of James I. appears greater than that of an Oppidan in the reign of Victoria when we allow for the change in the purchasing power of money." Thus the bills of one Commensal are said to have amounted to the astonishing sum of £90 a year.

In 1610 Barlow, Bishop of Lincoln, the visitor, wrote to Savile complaining that Langley, the head master, "having two rich benefices far distant from his schoole and bæeing a Dr. of Divinity continueth the teaching of children and neglecteth his principall charge, which are the soules of the people." Further

¹ Lee's "Life of Shakespeare," p. 328.

correspondence followed between Savile and Barlow, Savile, it seems, pleading that Langley was an excellent head master, and Barlow answering that by the statutes a Doctor of Divinity had no right to be head master. His reason is curious. "The devout founder," he says, "little thought that any man would have been either so covetous for wealth or so stooping in conceit as from an interpreter of the Holy Ghost to become an expositor of profane poets." This seems rather a reason why he should cease to be a Doctor of Divinity and a parish priest than a head master of Eton. In 1611 the bishop gives another reason. It is a disgrace, he says, for a Doctor of Divinity to be "hired and removeable." After this Langley himself was sent to appease the bishop, if possible ; but in vain. "I affect the man as much as you," Barlow writes to Savile, "but in this case I am not able to yield his desire." Langley still refused to resign, and was at last formally dismissed. After his dismissal Savile and the bishop were again at issue about the appointment of a new head master. The bishop wished for a King's man ; Savile, as usual, preferred an alien, Richard Wright, the usher, and in this case Savile had his way.

Already in 1617 candidates began to busy themselves about the reversion of the provostship, among them Sir Dudley Carleton, Savile's friend and son-in-law, and Sir Henry Wotton. But the office was finally promised to Thomas Murray, who had been tutor to the Prince of Wales. In 1622 Savile died. His wife presented his portrait to the College. There is no

doubt that in his case the policy of raising distinguished aliens to the provostship was justified. Savile increased the reputation of the College and raised the standard of learning. As an alien he was free from Etonian prepossessions; and his system of appointing other aliens to fellowships was undoubtedly a good one, since it has always been the tendency of foundations like those of Eton and Winchester, closely connected with colleges at the University, to become close corporations with an almost hereditary exclusiveness; and this tendency has from time to time much injured the usefulness of the schools and colleges alike.

The Eton Greek grammar, only superseded in the last half-century, dates from Savile's time. It was the work of Camden, head master of Westminster, and a friend of Savile, and was in use at both schools until 1650, when it gave way at Westminster to Busby's grammar, and became known henceforth as the Eton Greek grammar exclusively. A week before Savile's death James I. wrote to the fellows ordering them to make no new election until his choice was formally declared to them.

It was already known informally, and was not popular. Murray was neither an Englishman, a graduate of an English University, nor a priest. The visitor, Bishop Williams, made difficulties (though the fellows tamely acquiesced), and refused to recognize the election of the fellows on the ground of informality. Eventually, however, Murray was elected to his satisfaction, but died fourteen months after his elec-

tion. He was buried in the chapel, where there is an elaborate monument to his rather insignificant memory. The competition for his place was the most memorable in the history of the College, both from the number and the reputation of the candidates, among whom were Sir Dudley Carleton and Sir Henry Wotton, both eminent diplomatists, and the ex-Lord Chancellor Francis Bacon, Lord St. Albans. That such men should have applied for the office is a striking proof of the great position to which the school had attained under the provostship of Savile. Bacon, writing to Conway, the Secretary of State, says, "It were a pretty cell for my fortune. The College, and I choose, I doe not dout I shall make to flowrysh." He was informed that the office had been promised to Sir William Beecher, Clerk of the Council, but that the matter might still be arranged in his favour.

Williams, the visitor, wrote to Buckingham saying that the king had named Sir Albertus Morton, also a diplomatist, Sir Dudley Carleton, and Sir Robert Ayton, and that in his opinion the king inclined to Ayton the most. "It is somewhat necessary," he adds, "to be a good scholar, but more that he be a good husband (economist) and a careful manager and a stayed man, which no man can be that is as much indebted as my Lord St. Albans." Even the provostship of Eton seems a poor favour to be asked by such a man as Francis Bacon, but that favour was refused to him, perhaps for the reason given by Williams, perhaps because he was fallen and friendless. The appointment was deferred until the omnipotent Buckingham

returned from Spain. Meanwhile the vice-provost received the king's permission to transact the necessary business of the College, and Murray's widow enjoyed the emoluments of the office. When Buckingham at last returned he declared himself engaged to Beecher unless some means could be found of satisfying him. This was a difficulty which Wotton alone was able to solve. He had been promised the reversion of the mastership of the Rolls. This he gave up to Sir Ralph Freeman, who in turn yielded his place to Beecher. The bartering of appointments may seem strange to us, but it was less objectionable than the usual practice of the day, by which offices were bought and sold outright.

If financial difficulties were against the appointment of Bacon, they were no less an objection to Wotton, who, though not extravagant, was always careless of money, and went to Eton so poor that "the fellows were fain to furnish his bare walls." Wotton was elected on June 24th, 1624, and held the office for fifteen years. He is probably the most distinguished man who has ever been provost of Eton, being at once a poet, a diplomatist, and a scholar. He is best known to us now by his famous lines to Elizabeth of Bohemia, and by Walton's no less famous biography of him; but in his own day he filled many important offices, always with honour and distinction. He was educated at Winchester and New College, and obtained the favour of James before he came to the throne of England. James knighted him, and sent him on embassies to Venice, Savoy, and the Emperor. It was Wotton

who said of his own trade that "an ambassador is an honest man sent to lie abroad for the good of his country." But though he was well employed, he was ill paid, and arrears were owing to him when he became provost, of which he obtained £500 with considerable trouble. As provost, his income was £100 a year, with board, lodging, and allowances. He was already in debt, for which he can hardly be blamed, considering the example set him by the state. It is a picturesque incident, and characteristic of the times, that he was arrested at the instance of some creditor when returning from a vain attempt to obtain payment from the Lord Treasurer of money long due to him. His affairs, however, were improved in 1628 by a pension of £200, raised in 1630 to £500, ostensibly to enable him to write a history of England, which he began, but never finished. Soon after his election Wotton took deacon's orders, but he never became a priest.

Walton, in his life of Wotton, gives a pleasant account of his life at Eton, where he found "an exemption from business, a quiet mind, and a liberal maintenance even in this part of my life, when my age and infirmities seem to sound me a retreat from the pleasures of this world and invite me to contemplation, in which I have ever taken the greatest felicity. He spent some hours every day," Walton says, "in reading the bible and authors in divinity, closing up his meditations with private prayer. But when he once sat to dinner, then nothing but cheerful thoughts possessed his mind ; nor did he forget his

innate pleasure of angling, which he would usually call 'his idle time not idly spent.'"

The bend in the river just below the Playing Fields, known as Black Potts, must always remain classical ground for anglers, and an Etonian might even prefer it to all the salmon rivers in Scotland, for there Wotton and Walton used to fish together, and there perhaps Wotton wrote these lines, "on a banck as he sate a-fishing," when he was over seventy years of age :

"And now all nature seemed in love ;
The lusty sap began to move ;
New juice did stir the embracing vines,
And birds had drawn their valentines ;
The jealous trout that low did lie,
Rose at a well-dissembled fly :
There stood my friend with patient skill,
Attending of his trembling quill."

The friend was Izaak Walton himself, who quotes the verses.

Wotton, Walton tells us, "was a constant cherisher of all those youths in that school in whom he found either a constant diligence or a genius that prompted them to learning." For their encouragement he set up "two rows of pillars, on which he caused to be choicely drawn the pictures of divers of the most famous Greek and Latin historians, poets, and orators." These pillars were set up in the lower school, and probably with the further purpose of giving additional support to the long chamber above. Wotton urged his scholars not to neglect rhetoric, "because Almighty God has left mankind affections to be

wrought upon," and "he never left the school without dropping some choice Greek or Latin apophthegm or sentence that might be worthy of a room in the memory of a young scholar."

Wotton made a yearly visit to Oxford, but in the summer before his death he went to Winchester instead; returning thence he said that, "My now being in that school, and seeing that very place where I sat when I was a boy, occasioned me to remember those very thoughts of my youth which then possessed me." On his return "he became much more retired and contemplative, in which time he was often visited by Mr. John Hales." In October, 1639, he fell into a fever, and was ailing till December, when he died, in the seventy-second year of his age, at Eton, "where, according to his will, he now lies buried, with his motto on a plain grave-stone over him." He had appointed that "his executors should lay over his grave a marble stone, plain, and not costly . . . and he thought fit rather to preserve his name . . . by a useful apophthegm than by a large enumeration of his descent or merits." The apophthegm in question was the famous one, "*Disputandi pruritus ecclesiarum scabies*," which Walton translates

"The itch of disputation will prove the scab of the Church."

The reputation of the school is attested by the eager competition for scholarships at this time. Wotton said that every election cost him several friends. He speaks also of "Intercessions and messengers from divers great personages for boys both in and out,

enough to make us think ourselves shortly electors of the Empire, if it hold on."

Charles I. caused some discontent by ordering that a fellowship at Eton should be always reserved for the vicar of Windsor for the time being. The fellows of King's College resented this order as an infringement on their privileges, since most of the fellows of Eton were chosen from among them. They therefore petitioned Laud, then Archbishop of Canterbury, that all future vicars of Windsor should be chosen from among the fellows of King's. To this request they added other "articles of complaint," as that the number of fellowships had fallen from ten, the original number, to seven. If a reduction was necessary, they urged, it should be made rather among the clerks, choristers, and scholars; that too many fellowships were bestowed on aliens; and that the scholars were stinted of the breakfasts, clothes, bedding, and other things allowed for by the statutes.

The archbishop heard the complaints, and, while admitting that the statutes were transgressed, said he could not overlook the "contemporanean exposition and the practice, which were quite cross to the statutes." He refused to increase the number of fellowships, but reserved five of them for ever for King's College. The Rebellion prevented the immediate carrying out of his decision.

Wotton was succeeded by Richard Steward, of All Souls' College, Oxford, Clerk of the Closet to Charles I., who was elected on the 28th of December, 1639. Clarendon describes him as a "very honest and learned

gentleman, and most conversant in that learning which vindicates the dignity and authority of the Church, on which his heart was most entirely set, notwithstanding some prejudice to those who thought there was any other object to be more carefully pursued."

When the Civil War broke out Steward joined the king. He took with him the seal of the College, and, it is supposed, most of the plate, since only two pieces remain of an earlier date. While he was away the College got on as best it could. No elections were held, and the Commensals or Oppidans seem to have disappeared. No doubt they came chiefly from the Royalist classes, and the country round London fell early into the hands of the Parliamentarians, who soon began to make their power felt. The Colleges of Westminster, Eton, Winchester, and Christ Church were specially exempted from the ordinance confiscating the estates of all archbishops, bishops, deans, and chapters, but the statutes ordering the scholars and fellows to wear surplices were declared to be against law and the liberty of the subject. This was a fairly harmless declaration, but in 1642 Colonel Venn was ordered to remove all scandalous monuments and pictures in the chapel, and the income of the provost was sequestrated and placed in the hands of Sir Henry Cholmely to receive upon account without prejudice to the scholars and fellows. Soon after, however, the Parliament dealt with the College much more effectually. In 1644 an ordinance was passed declaring that, as Steward had neglected the government of the College and joined himself to

those who had levied war against the Parliament, he should be removed, and that Francis Rous, of Brixham in Devonshire, should take his place.

Steward died soon after the battle of Worcester at St. Germain's.

Rous had sat as a layman in the Westminster Assembly of Divines and in all the Parliaments of Charles I.'s reign. He was a bitter opponent of the Established Church. When the self-denying ordinance was passed he obtained a special exemption and remained provost. The election of scholars was resumed in August, 1645, when ten scholars were also sent to King's. In the next year a candidate for a scholarship, aged thirteen, passed an examination in Hebrew.

On the whole Rous seems to have acted with some moderation, and the College does not appear to have chafed much under his yoke. One of the fellows, Thomas Weaver, assembled the members of the disbanded choirs of Eton and Windsor to practise the music no longer heard in their chapels. Venn asked him why he could not be satisfied with the Psalms as they were sung in church, and he replied that he supposed God to be as well pleased with being served in tune as out of tune.

No general measure was directed against the old fellows, but they were gradually displaced and Puritans elected instead of them. About 1647 commons were first given to the fellows in money instead of in kind, and the fellows began to take their meals in their own houses rather than in the hall.

The college was exempted from the ordinance of 1649 ordering the sale of the estates of certain religious corporations, but soon after the fellows, masters, and scholars were directed to sign an engagement that they would be faithful to the "Commonwealth of England as it is now established without a King or a House of Lords." Hales refused to sign, and was ejected from his fellowship. He left Eton for a time, but soon returned there and lived in the town, in poverty but cheerfulness, though he had been compelled to sell a great part of his library. Gray, the head master, was also dismissed, and became master of Tunbridge School.

In 1653 Rous was made Speaker of the House of Commons, and afterwards raised to the Upper House. His metrical translation of the Psalms is still used in Scotland, and he founded three exhibitions for Eton scholars at Pembroke College, Oxford. He died in 1659. It was at this time that the collegiate church began to be called the chapel, and that the chaplains received the curious title of Conducts, which they still retain. In 1654 Cromwell appointed commissioners to visit Eton and Cambridge with a view to making alterations in the statutes, but none were made at Eton, perhaps owing to the fact that Rous was one of the commissioners. On the death of Rous, the fellows elected Nicholas Lockyer, an independent minister, and formerly chaplain to Cromwell, in his place, but the Restoration was close at hand, and was quickly followed by the resignation of Lockyer. Charles II. thereupon gave the office to Nicholas Monk, who had

acted as an intermediary between his brother, the general, and the Royalists. Charles's procedure was arbitrary, and a departure from the old form, by which the king recommended his candidate to the fellows for election, and Monk assumed the office without any form of election whatever. There is no allusion to this fact in the College registers, no doubt from fear lest it should be quoted as a precedent. Only two of the Puritan fellows were allowed to keep their places, and only two of the former ousted fellows survived to return. The banners of Rous were torn down from the walls of the chapel, Singleton, the head master, was dismissed, and the Book of Common Prayer and the old services were of course resumed. Comedies were again played by the scholars, and there is an entry for 1660 of £1 given to the musicians at the play.

It appears that discipline during the Commonwealth had grown lax, for in 1661 new regulations were made that only one half-holiday should be allowed in the week ; that the head master and usher should lodge in chambers at the ends of the long chamber to prevent disorder ; that the head master should repair to the school at seven in the morning and one in the afternoon, and the ushers at six and twelve ; that both should take care that the scholars did not wander about in writing times, but that they should be held to a task, and thereof to call for a daily accompt ; and that special care should be taken to prevent the disorders of election week. It was also decided that the provost should receive £500 a year, besides allowances of wood capons, candles, and hay, and the fellows

£150 a year ; and that livings should be offered to the fellows in order of seniority.

In 1661 Monk died, soon after being appointed Bishop of Hereford. The king thereupon issued a mandamus, ordering the fellows to elect Dr. Thomas Browne, Canon of Windsor. The fellows disobeyed his orders, and held no election at all. Their reasons are not known, but the king gave way and desired them to elect Dr. John Meredith, a fellow of the College and Warden of All Souls. He also held the office but a short time, dying in 1663. During his provostship the following further orders were made : that the scholars should not go out of bounds by day or night without leave from the provost or vice-provost, and should be expelled on disobeying this rule for the third time ; that the school and long chamber should be locked every night immediately after prayers ; that any scholar lying out of the College one night without leave should be whipped ; and that " Clark, Stone, Curwin, and Whittaker, who lately accompanied Gerancy and Langston at the Christopher and Thos. Woodward's, shall have a forme of repentance drawne for them, which they shall read in the school before the vice-provost and fellows in English, and that their fault of being out of bounds shal be registered pro prima vice."

Soon after Curwin was again admonished and registered, and, what probably affected him more nearly, whipped, for going out of bounds to the Datchet alehouses and beating the fishermen on their way home, to the great scandal of the College.

Curwin, however, was elected to King's in the same year. It sounds curious now to hear that the boys were ordered to smoke in school daily, since tobacco was considered a disinfectant of the plague. Indeed, one boy was flogged as soundly for not smoking as he would now be for smoking.

On the death of Meredith the provostship was offered to Robert Boyle, who refused it because he neither wished to take orders nor to obtain a dispensation, which he felt to be contrary to the spirit of the statutes.

Thereupon Edmund Waller, also an Etonian, and the elegant poet, who had found Charles I., Cromwell, and Charles II. worthy in turn of his praises, solicited the office of the king. It was promised to him, but Clarendon, the Lord Chancellor, refused to ratify the appointment on the ground that Waller was a layman. No doubt he was unsuitable for other reasons.

Dr. Richard Allestree, who finally obtained the post, was not an Etonian, and had been a student of Christ Church. He fought at Edgehill and in the siege of Oxford. The Parliament expelled him from his studentship, and imprisoned him after the battle of Worcester. At the Restoration he became a canon of Christ Church and Regius Professor of Divinity at Oxford. He was an admirable provost, and did much to restore the finances of the College, which were badly impaired by the maladministration of the Puritans. Allestree gave up part of his own income to pay off the College debts, and induced the fellows

to do likewise. By this means he discharged obligations to the amount of a thousand pounds in a few years, and spent two thousand pounds in much needed repairs.

Up to the time of Allestree the school yard was enclosed on three sides only, being open on the west, where it is entered from the road. Allestree built at his own expense a western side to the quadrangle with a schoolroom on the first floor, where the Upper School now stands, and a smaller room and a colonnade below. His building much resembled the present one in arrangement, but was so badly constructed that it had to be taken down soon afterwards, when the present western part of the school yard was erected.

Eton was visited by the plague, but probably only lightly, Pepys mentioning in his diary that he went to Eton when it was raging, and in the hall found "the boys writing verses de peste, it being their custom to make verses at Shrovetide. I read several, and very good they were, better I think than ever I made when I was a boy, and in rolls as long or longer than the whole hall by much." On a later visit he remarks on the boys "cutting their names on the shuts of the window when they go to Cambridge, by which many a one hath lived to see himself a provost and fellow, that hath his name in the window yet standing." The custom still survives in a legalized and regular form, every boy on leaving paying a certain fixed sum to a college official, who has his name neatly cut on the panels of one of the schoolrooms. But by this

arrangement the autographic interest of famous names is entirely lost. The school list of the year 1678, the earliest in existence, informs us that the school numbered 287 boys, so that the number of Oppidans, which had fallen off greatly during the Civil War, must have largely increased again. At this time the division into Upper and Lower Schools did not exist.

On the death of Allestree in 1681, Waller again applied for the provostship, but this time the fellows objected to him, and the Privy Council decided that the office could not be held by a layman. It was therefore given to Dr. Zachary Cradock, a fellow of the College, who was chiefly famous for his eloquent preaching.

Soon after Cradock's appointment Rosewell, the head master, resigned his office. He is said to have flogged a boy so severely that he died, and this preyed upon his spirits until he became mad, and lived in constant fear of arrest. His fate does not seem to have lessened his successors' faith in the rod as an educator, and the illustrious Keate probably felt some contempt for his memory.

In 1686 six scholars were touched for the king's evil.

Rosewell's successor, Roderick, was the subject of a "leading case" in the history of King's College. When the office of provost of King's fell vacant in 1689, the fellows were emboldened by the Revolution to assert their right of election, which had gradually been usurped by the king. Three mandamuses were issued to them ordering them to elect three different candi-



STAIRCASE TO UPPER SCHOOL, BUILT ABOUT 1690.

dates in turn, one of them being the great Sir Isaac Newton. But the fellows disregarded all of them, and finally gained their point, electing Roderick, and

establishing a precedent in favour of their freedom of election, which has always been followed. It has been the almost universal custom of the fellows of King's until the present day to elect an Eton master. The present provost, though not an Eton master, is the brother of one.

Roderick's successor, Newborough, was a notable head master. He was generous to the poorer boys, supplying them with books and other necessities, and gave a "leaving book" to all such boys as "took their leave of him handsomely." This is the first mention we have of "leaving books," and also of the curious custom of "tipping" the head master. Several of Newborough's pupils became distinguished statesmen, including Walpole, St. John, Wyndham, and Townshend.

In 1689 it was decided to rebuild the western side of the school yard, since Allestree's wing had already become dangerous. An appeal was made to old Etonians; £500 was given by the College, and £300 in a legacy from Rosewell. In all £2,300 was collected, and the building was finished in 1694.



CLOISTER (SOUTH WALK), REBUILT IN THE XVIII CENTURY.

See page 155.

CHAPTER IV

ETON IN THE XVIII CENTURY

PROVOST CRADOCK died in 1695, and Henry Godolphin, brother of the minister and vice-provost of the College, was elected in his place, under a mandamus from the king, which the fellows, not following the example of King's College, made no effort to resist.

Godolphin put up the statue of the founder now in the school yard, and contributed £1,000 to the renewing of the chapel. The work altogether cost over £3,000. Snape, who succeeded Newborough as

head master, upheld the authority of the Church in the Bangorian controversy, begun by a sermon of Hoadly, Bishop of Bangor. Snape answered the bishop in a pamphlet, and was himself answered by many pamphlets, one among them being called a "Letter to the Scholars of Eaton." Snape was elected provost of King's in 1719, in opposition to the wishes of the Court. At this time the numbers of the school reached 399. His successor was Dr. Bland. Bland encouraged disputations among the boys, which occasionally led to blows, and is said to have neglected the study of the classics. The forms at this time were called "Bible Seat, First Form, Lower Remove, Second Form, Lower Greek, Third Form, Fourth Form, Remove, Fifth Form, and Sixth Form." The largest of these, the Sixth Form, contained fifty-three boys. There were eight assistant masters, but it is not known at what date their help became necessary to the head master and the usher. The numbers of the school varied considerably with the prosperity of the country; and the bursting of the South Sea bubble caused an immediate falling off of fifty boys.

A bill of William Pitt, afterwards Lord Chatham, gives some idea of the cost of an Oppidan's education at this time. It is dated 1719, and amounts to £29 for the half year's expenses. It includes £4 4s. *od.* to his tutor, £2 2s. *od.* for teaching, £12 10s. *od.* for board, £1 2s. *od.* for writing master, and £1 11s. 6*d.* for books. The tailor's bill is very moderate, 3s. 6*d.* in all, less than the charge for curing the boy's chil-

blains, which comes to 5s. There is also a charge of 3*d.* for water.

Bland became Dean of Durham in 1728, and was succeeded by William George, of whom we hear little good. He was known as Dionysius the tyrant. He was pedantic and absurd in manner, and became, says Lord Camden, "proud, ill mannerly, and brutal." Once, when a lady quoted some Latin verses of her own composition to him, he said, "Madam, if you were in the lowest form of the Upper School, I should lay you upon our block for that recitation, which contains in three lines two false quantities, and the same number of concords equally false." This is clumsier than some of Dr. Johnson's remarks to ladies, but hardly more rude. Thomas Gray, the most distinctively Etonian poet, and Horace Walpole, his friend, were both pupils of George. Walpole's letters contain many allusions to Eton.

In 1742 George became provost of King's after a severe contest, and was succeeded by William Cooke, an assistant master. Cooke resigned from ill-health after three years. He published a Greek tragedy while a boy at Eton. He was no more popular than George. He is described as a "formal, important pedant, who will be a schoolmaster in whatever station of life his fortune may advance him to."

By this period the Oppidans already lived in boarding houses, and the tutorial system was in process of development. The discipline was lax, and the hours of work few. The teaching had nearly all those faults which finally led to criticism and reform at the

end of Keate's reign. The head master's division consisted of about 120 boys, more than he could possibly manage, and the school books were few and imperfect. Mathematics were hardly taught at all; only the most advanced boys learnt the elements of Euclid. But parents seem to have been satisfied, and the agitation for reform did not begin for nearly eighty years.

Sir Henry Maxwell Lyte gives the following list of games played in the last century :

Cricket, fives, shirking walls, scrambling walls, bally cally, battledores, peg-top, peg in the ring, goals, hopscotch, heading, conquering lobs, hoops, marbles, trapball, steal baggage, puss in the corner, cut (or cat?) gallows, kites, cloyster and flyer gigs, tops, hunt the hare, hunt the dark lanthorn, chuck, sinks, store caps, hurdle-cap.

It is to be hoped that colours were not given for efficiency in all these games. Some of them would hardly bear revival in the present day, and one may imagine the feelings of a "captain of the boats" who discovered lower boys playing "marbles" in the school yard. Yet the present uniformity and seriousness in athletics is a much more modern thing than most people suppose. Up to the middle of this century peg-tops remained popular at Eton. In the list there is no clear mention of the wall game. "Goals" probably means some kind of football, and the "Football fields" are mentioned elsewhere in the manuscript. The boys bathed at "Cuckow Ware" and other places, and possessed or hired three long boats named "Piper's Green," "Snake," and "My

Guinea's Lion." "Guinea Piper" was a waterman, and the island on which the fireworks used to be let off on the 4th of June is called after him "Piper's Eyot." When the boys were tired of all their games, they could go and see a criminal hanging in chains near the College. Up to the middle of the century, also, they used occasionally to beat a ram to death with clubs in Weston's yard. They saw pony races at Datchet and Chalvey, and sometimes went to Ascot, but not, apparently, at such peril as their successors of to-day. There was cock-fighting in Bedford's yard and bull-fighting in Bachelor's Acre. With such amusements as these one is inclined to wonder that they ever found time for puss in the corner.

From the beginning of his reign George III. took a great interest in Eton. He visited the College with his queen soon after his accession, and gave a sum of money to the College. Later in his reign he said, "All people think highly of Eton. Everybody praises Eton." He knew many boys by name, and delighted to talk to them when he met them in the street. When he met a boy he did not know, he asked him, "What's your name? who's your tutor? who's your dame?" and on gaining this information usually replied, "Very good tutor; very good dame." He often asked boys to tea at the castle.

In 1754 the famous Dr. Barnard became head master. Under his rule the numbers of the school rose from 300 to 500 in eleven years. Barnard was not a deep scholar, but an admirable teacher, with a great enthusiasm for the beauties of classical authors. He

had great influence over boys, and was an excellent judge of their capacities and characters. One of his most difficult pupils was Charles James Fox, whose father was the most unwise of parents. When Fox was only fifteen, his father took him away from school for four months and introduced him to the dissipations of Paris. This was undoubtedly bad for him, but the elder Pitt must have spoken with some exaggeration when he said that "the great change which has



CHARLES JAMES FOX'S NAME IN THE
UPPER SCHOOL.

taken place among our youth has been dated from the time of his going to Eton." On his return from Paris, Barnard did his best to flog his father's evil influence out of him, and he was eventually "sent up for good" for Latin verses.

Barnard did not like his boys to think too much of their appearance. He cut the flowing locks of James Hare with his own hand, thinking he had an air of consequence superior to the pretensions of a collegier. He was, it is stated in Anstey's "New Bath Guide,"

"Extremely remiss, for a sensible man,
In never contriving some elegant plan
For improving their persons and showing them how
To hold up their heads, and to make a good bow ;
But what is much more, what no parent would choose,
He burnt all their ruffles and cut off their queues?"

Barnard became provost in 1765 and was succeeded by John Foster, who was unfortunate in following so popular a predecessor. He was a more profound but less attractive scholar than Barnard, and had not his social virtues. Barnard, it is said, caused merriment by his wit, and Foster by his blunders. Add to this that he was small and insignificant in appearance and unfortunate in manner. In everything he was compared to his disadvantage with his predecessor, and he had only been head master for three years when the famous rebellion of 1768 broke out.

The Sixth Form boys had always claimed the right to go out of bounds when they chose, though they appear to have "shirked" the assistant masters as a matter of form. In 1768 a master met a præpostor in the High Street on a Saturday afternoon. Nothing happened at the time, but the next day the master took him before Foster on the charge of making a noise in chapel. He had, it is said, merely been keeping the lower boys in order. Foster was about to flog him when the Sixth Form entered in a body and threatened to resign. Their resignation was accepted, and the flogging proceeded.

The next day there was a further interview between the head master and the Sixth Form, and the head master refused to allow them the privilege they claimed. The boys therefore said they would take no part in the "declarations" or "speeches" at the end of term, and the head master threatened them with expulsion.

Next the Fifth Form boys appeared on the scene. They inquired if the Sixth Form had been expelled, and

the head master's only reply was "Go and ask them." A meeting of the school was then held in the Playing fields, and a hundred and sixty boys, the whole of the Sixth and Fifth Forms and part of the Fourth, decided to start for Maidenhead ; with what object except that of displaying their rebellion, it is difficult to say. Before setting out some of them threw their school books into the river, but, once started, "they marched with the greatest order and regularity, and during the whole time they were absent from Eton there was not one single act of riot, indecency, or intemperance committed." They spent the night at an inn at Maidenhead, and their bill has been preserved :

	£	s.	d.
Beer for dinner	1	2	6
Wine and Punch	6	18	6
Dinners, Coffee, Tea, etc., Supper and Breakfast for 160 at 5/- a head . .	40	0	0
Beer at Supper		18	6
Wine and Punch	5	14	9
Fires	1	0	0
Cards		4	0
	<hr/>		
	£55	18	3

They remained deaf to the remonstrances of a friendly master, and on the next day marched back to the Playing fields, where eighteen of them conferred with the masters in the Upper School. The head master refused to make any conditions, whereupon three of the ringleaders, "to their eternal infamy, made peace at the expense of their own honour." A panic set in ; many of the boys submitted, and others fled home, but were ill received by their parents. The son

of Lord Harrington was received by his father at the door, who ordered him to return to Eton at once. The Marquis of Granby said that his two sons should go to the theatre that evening for their pleasure, and to-morrow should return to Eton and be flogged for his.

Whatever the immediate rights or wrongs of the rebellion, it is plain that the boys must have got out of hand before it became possible, and the chief blame therefore, as in all such cases, must lie on the authorities.

After this the severity of Foster increased, but remained always injudicious. On one occasion he publicly flogged and expelled an Irish boy, who lampooned him in a London paper.

But no amount of such punishments could make the boys respect him, and at last in 1773 he resigned. The numbers of the school had fallen off by nearly 300 during the eight years of his rule. He was succeeded by Dr. Jonathan Davies, whose tenure of office was neither brilliant nor disastrous, though he did not escape a rebellion, during which the boys captured the "block" and broke it into small pieces.

The future Duke of Wellington was at Eton with his elder brother, Lord Wellesley, under Davies. He was not remarkable at school.

Wellesley was regarded as a better scholar than Porson, who was too careless to be correct. A copy of Porson's verses containing several errors is preserved in the school library. Porson remembered the rat hunts in Long Chamber more agreeably than any other part of his schooldays.

Davies was head master over eighteen years, and was succeeded by George Heath in 1792.

In 1786 the famous "Microcosm," the first of Eton newspapers, was started. Its editors were George Canning, John Smith, Robert or "Bobus" Smith, and John Hookham Frere. It contained essays in the manner of the "Spectator," and a certain amount of verse. It only ran for a year, and had a considerable circulation outside the school. When it ceased, the copyright was sold for fifty guineas, and several collected editions were issued.

So great was Canning's reputation at school that Fox visited Eton with the object of securing him for the Whig party, but Canning was not to be won over. He was always an enthusiastic old Etonian, often visited the school, and said that no one, however successful, was ever so great a man as when he was a Sixth Form boy at Eton.

The "Microcosm" had no successor until 1804, when a paper called the "Miniature" was started by Stratford Canning (afterwards Lord Stratford de Redcliffe), T. Rennell, H. G. Knight, and the two sons of Lord Wellesley. The "Miniature" also lasted about a year. The copyright was bought up by John Murray, then a bookseller in Fleet Street. The transaction brought him into contact with George Canning, and led to the founding of the "Quarterly Review."

Mention has been made of cricket in the list of games played at Eton in the last century. The first public school match on record was played between Eton and Westminster on Hounslow Heath on the 25th of July,

1796. Westminster was victorious, but in a second match, played four years after on the old Lord's ground, Eton won by an innings and 128 runs. In the next year Eton again won, the Westminster eleven scoring only 17 runs in the second innings. The two schools never played again. In 1805 took place the famous first Eton and Harrow match, in which Lord Byron played. Harrow was beaten in an innings.

Little is known of rowing at this period. Several of the boats were in existence ; among them the Monarch, then, as now, a ten-oar, the Dreadnought, and the Defiance. The boys in the boats wore fancy dress on the 4th of June and on Election Saturday, a festival which is no longer observed. The uniforms of the different crews were not then fixed, and varied from year to year. The eight appears not to have existed until 1820, and the first race against Westminster was not held until 1829.

In 1802 Heath resigned, and was succeeded by Dr. Joseph Goodall, an assistant master. Goodall was a man of learning, of courtly manners and kindly disposition. He shone more as a host than as a head master. He was contented to remain popular with the boys, and did nothing to improve either the discipline or teaching of the school. The following story illustrates his easy ways.

The boys were constant poachers in the Home Park, and at last one of them was captured coursing and locked up by the keeper for the night. Goodall was characteristically too much amused to be angry at this event, and informed the boys of it the next morn-

ing in the following words : " One of your comrades is now languishing in prison with the common malefactors for a serious offence against the king himself, poaching in the royal demesnes. I do not know whether he has actually committed high treason, but I am sure you will join with me in a hope that he will escape with his life." The boy suffered no further punishment.

Shelley was among the most famous of Goodall's



SHELLEY'S NAME IN THE UPPER SCHOOL.

pupils. He was perhaps less unhappy at school than might have been expected from his unlikeness to other boys and his indifference to their pursuits.

During this period there was little educational or other progress at Eton.

The collegers were the least distinguished members of the school. They were neglected, despised, and half starved ; and the privations of a colleger who was forced by poverty to depend on the food provided for him by the college were almost worse than those described by Charles Lamb in his essay on Christ's Hospital. Those who were fortunate enough, hired private rooms in the town, where they ate their breakfasts and obtained some respite from the noise and hardships of Long Chamber.



SHELLEY'S BOARDING HOUSE IN WESTON'S YARD, AND THE
ENTRANCE TO THE PLAYING FIELDS.

CHAPTER V

JOHN KEATE

IN 1809 Dr. Goodall was appointed provost, and the ever-famous John Keate, the lower master, succeeded him. Keate was in almost as difficult a situation, succeeding Goodall, as Foster had been, succeeding Barnard. But he was a very different kind of man. Goodall had probably won a good deal of his popularity at the expense of the school's efficiency. He flogged little rather from indifference than from principle. Keate flogged much both by principle and by inclination. Under Goodall punishments had been few, not because discipline was

obeyed, but because it was relaxed. Keate behaved as if his predecessor had left long arrears of punishment to be wiped out, and punishment for him had only one form. He was head master for twenty-five years, the longest period on record, and many of the most famous and exalted persons in the country suffered at his hands. There was continual disaffection at the beginning of his rule. Tricks were played upon him. The door of his schoolroom was blocked, and he is even said on one occasion to have found himself stuck to his seat with cobbler's wax. But these incidents only increased his appetite for punishment. "Keate," wrote a Sixth Form boy in 1810, "will not bear being trifled with half so well as Goodall, and will deal his blows about with a heavy hand should they force him to extremities." He was forced to extremities in 1818, and the prophecy was amply justified. In that year he made an alteration in the hour of "lock-up." There was much disorder among the boys ; one was expelled, and at last Keate was hooted and pelted with rotten eggs in Upper School. Thereupon five more boys were expelled, and order was restored. But a second rebellion had a far more picturesque suppression. The lower division of the Fifth Form were ordered to attend eight o'clock absence in the summer, which had hitherto been confined to the lower boys. They met together and agreed neither to attend absence nor to submit to be flogged. The summons to execution, they expected, would come the next day ; but Keate struck sooner. He sent for them that night from their

beds, in relays of two and three at a time. It was after midnight when he was able to rest from his victory, and then his rest was well earned, for he had flogged nearly ninety boys. Many other stories are told of his severities, humorous in reminiscence, but painful, no doubt, at the time. On one occasion he is said to have flogged a number of boys who were about to be confirmed, and who, in accordance with the rules, presented their confirmation tickets to him. These tickets bore some resemblance to those presented by boys who had been complained of, and Keate seized the opportunity. Halfway through the execution it is said that a boy about to suffer explained the facts of the case. Keate is alleged to have replied, "Sir, the profanity of your excuse makes your offence the greater ;" but there is hardly enough authority to support the improbability of this conclusion.

Keate's methods are not fashionable now ; and his practice of assuming that every boy was lying unless he could prove otherwise cannot have encouraged truthfulness ; but he has made his mark on the history of England, and his old pupils all remembered him with respect. For a description of him, Kinglake's often-quoted passage must be quoted again :

"I think you must have some idea of him already, for wherever from utmost Canada to Bundelcund-- wherever there was a whitewashed wall of an officer's room, or of any other apartment in which English gentlemen are forced to kick their heels, there likely enough (in the days of his reign) the head of Keate would be seen, scratched or drawn with those various degrees of skill which one observes in the representation of saints.

Anybody without the least notion of drawing, could still draw a speaking, nay, scolding likeness of Keate. If you had no pencil, you could draw him well enough with a poker, or the leg of a chair, or the smoke of a candle. He was little more, if more at all, than five feet in height, and was not very great in girth, but in this space was concentrated the pluck of ten battalions. He had a really noble voice, and this he could modulate with great skill, but he also had the power of quacking like an angry duck, and he almost always adopted this mode of communication in order to inspire respect. He was a capital scholar, but his ingenuous learning had not softened his manners. He had the most complete command over his temper, I mean his good temper, which he scarcely ever allowed to appear. You could not put him out of humour, that is, out of the ill humour which he thought to be fitting for a head master. His red shaggy eyebrows were so prominent that he habitually used them as arms and hands for the purpose of pointing out any object towards which he wished to direct attention ; the rest of his features were equally striking in their way, and were all and all his own. He wore a fancy dress, partly resembling the costume of Napoleon, and partly that of a widow woman." ("Eothen," chap. xviii.)

So much for the humorous side of Keate, which has always been the most obvious. As a proof that he was not merely ridiculous, it is enough to say that, though always laughed at, he was always respected. He was a fine scholar and a good teacher. His discipline, though harsh and somewhat monotonous, was usually just, and never resented by those who had suffered from it the most. He was not a reformer in any branch of education, and as he flogged almost as much as Busby had flogged, he taught much the same things as Busby had taught. It was enough for him to establish order and obedience in the school, and to make sure that whatever was learnt was learnt tho-

roughly. Reforms came after his retirement, and it is to his credit that he gave them his hearty support.

In 1829 the Newcastle scholarship was founded by the then Duke of Newcastle. It is worth £50 a year, and is held for three years. The second boy in the examination obtains a medal. Divinity is a compulsory subject in the examination, and the study of it is encouraged by the Wilder divinity prize, given by the munificent fellow and vice-provost of that name. The Newcastle scholarship had an excellent effect in enlarging the scope of study at Eton and in quickening the ambitions of the more advanced boys.

Less importance was given in the examination

to the art of writing Latin verses than was usual at that period, and more to a general knowledge of the authors studied and to the power of making adequate prose translation in writing.

A word may here be said as to the curious cere-



DR. KEATE.

From a contemporary silhouette.

mony known as "prose," a corruption of prayers. At two o'clock on Sunday afternoon all the boys in the Upper School assembled there to hear Keate read some passage from Blair's "Sermons" or the "Encheiridion" of Epictetus. All this occurred amid tremendous and organized uproar, interspersed with threats from Keate. It is on some such occasion as this that he is reported to have said: "Blessed are the pure in heart. Mind that; if you are not pure in heart, I'll flog you." This, apparently, was all the religious instruction that the boys received.

Mathematics were taught by the writing master, a certain Major Hexter, who had not the same status as the classical masters. The teaching of mathematics was optional and very scanty.

In 1811 was founded the famous "Eton society" known as "Pop." The definition of the word is uncertain. It is said to be taken from the word "popina," an approximate Latin equivalent for "sock-shop;" at any rate, the meetings of the society were originally held in a room attached to a confectioner's shop kept by a certain Mrs. Hatton. There the members were bound to breakfast together at least once a week. It is significant of the character of the club that its founder, Charles Fox Townsend, refused to allow it to be called the "Eton Debating Society" or the "Eton Literary Society." "Pop" is not and never has been exclusively a debating society. Boys are seldom or never elected to it for intellectual reasons, the captain of the school is by no means invariably a member, and the winner of the Newcastle scholarship has less

chance of election than the junior member of the eleven or eight. "Pop" is in fact an athletic and social club, and that is probably the reason why it has lasted so long and still keeps an undiminished prestige. It has a certain amount of official and an enormous unofficial authority in the school. If it consisted wholly of the cleverest and most industrious boys, it would have none at all.

It has always been the policy of the authorities at Eton to interfere as little as possible with the athletic and other organizations of the boys. "Pop" has shared this freedom from interference, like "The Eton College Chronicle," the official Eton newspaper, and, like that organ, accurately reflects, in the predominance of athletics, the tastes and opinions of the vast majority of the school. If the masters chose to do so, they might, no doubt, produce some change in the constitution of "Pop," but every change would mean some loss of its authority, and there can be no doubt of the value of the existence of a small and powerful representative body, to which the head master can make a quiet and unofficial appeal, when the necessity arises.

When "Pop" was founded, athletics had not the predominance which they enjoy to-day, and its members were probably chosen rather for their social or intellectual gifts than for their skill as cricketers or oarsmen. For some time, indeed, they were known as "Literati," and the society seems to have been favoured by Keate, as it certainly would not have been had it consisted chiefly of athletes. The debates were then,

no doubt, a more important part of the society than they are now, and it was probably the ambition only of the cleverer boys to belong to it.

This being so, it naturally depended only on a small and varying number for its support, and it is not surprising to hear that only five years after its foundation the numbers had dwindled to fourteen, and the society was only saved from extinction by the protests of old members. At this period debates on politics and religion were not allowed, and Keate exercised a jealous supervision lest any dangerous subjects should creep into the discussion. Now the debates are free from all such supervision, but there is scarcely more chance of an inflammatory orator in "Pop" than in the hardly more august and contented assembly of the House of Lords.

Winthrop Mackworth Praed was one of the early members of "Pop," and in 1821 he induced the society to start a library over Williams' (now Ingaltton Drake's) shop.

In 1820 Praed started a magazine called the "Apis Matina," modestly enough in manuscript. Before this, in 1818, there had been three manuscript magazines in existence, one of which was called "Horæ Otiosæ," and edited by Moultrie. Praed, encouraged by the success of the "Apis Matina," joined with Moultrie, Walter Blount, William Sidney Walker, and Henry Nelson Coleridge in the famous "Etonian." This paper had a larger circulation, and attracted more attention in the outside world than perhaps any other school newspaper on record. The first number

went out of print in a few weeks, and its excellence was noticed by "The Quarterly Review." Praed was always the chief contributor, and "The Etonian" did not survive his departure to Cambridge. This has always been the way with the more brilliant school newspapers, which usually depend on the unusual precocity of some one boy. "The Etonian" provoked two uninteresting rivals, the "Saltbearer" and the "Student." "The Student" was exhausted after one number in 1821, and its death, followed by that of "The Etonian," soon after left the school "mute and inglorious" for six years. In 1827 "The Eton Miscellany" was started. Its writers did not attain to so precocious an excellence as those of "The Etonian," but achieved more fame in after life. Among them were W. E. Gladstone, Sir Francis Doyle (late Professor of Poetry at Oxford), Lord Hanmer, Arthur Hallam, and Bishop Selwyn.

In 1828 appeared the "Oppidan," and in 1832 the "Eton College Magazine," which was followed by the "Kaleidoscope," all of which were ephemeral and remain little more than names, though some of their writers afterwards attained distinction.

Up to the time of Hawtrey the river was out of bounds, yet boating was an established pastime. It was one of the curiosities of Keate's mind that he professed to be unaware of its existence. The 4th of June was as elaborately celebrated then as now, but Keate ignored it. He allowed lock-up to be half an hour later than usual, but pretended that it was an old custom of which he did not know the reason, and

carefully kept away from the banks of the river and their approaches. Some of the masters were not so careful of the fiction, and actually went with their wives and families to enjoy the festivities which it was ostensibly their duty to prevent. The boys themselves made no attempt to conceal them. They wore their uniforms as openly as at the present day, and many accompanied the procession of boats on horseback. The procession in those days was a less formal performance than it is now, and often became a bumping race on the return journey from Surly. On one occasion, in 1816, the *Defiance* bumped the *Mars*, and the crews fought in the High Street afterwards. Regular uniforms were adopted in 1814, and remain much the same to the present day. This uniform consists of a dark blue Eton jacket of a rather different cut to that worn on ordinary occasions, a striped shirt, a decorated straw hat, blue trousers for the upper boats, white "ducks" for the lower, pumps with brass buckles, and silk socks. The ties, the ribbons, and decorations of the hats, the shirts, and the socks vary with the colours of different boats, the dark blue of the *Monarch*, the light blue of the *Victory*, the red of the *Prince of Wales*, the green of the *Hibernia*, etc., etc. The steerers are dressed as admirals, captains, and lieutenants in the navy, according to the rank of their boat. In the early part of the century the boats sometimes carried a "sitter" in the stern, that is to say, some old Etonian or other distinguished person, who usually gave a dozen or so of champagne to the boat which carried him. On one occasion a splendid but

unknown personage offered himself and was accepted as a sitter, who afterwards turned out to be the cook at Windsor Castle. He further gave sherry instead of champagne, and this unfortunate accident seems to have discredited the practice. The procession on Election Saturday was even more festive than that on the 4th of June.

There were many races in the time of Keate. "House fours" were already in existence. The names have also been preserved of "Upper Sixes," "Lower Sixes," "Sculling Sweepstakes," "Pulling Sweepstakes," and "Double Sculling."

The first race between Westminster and Eton was rowed at Putney in 1829, curiously enough for £100 a side. The cox in each boat was a professional. Eton won easily. There was another race in 1831 from Maidenhead to below Monkey Island and back, when Eton was again successful. Keate was "not aware" of this race until, on the evening after it, a St. Bernard dog, surely the predecessor of Mr. Mitchell's Boney, was led up to him covered with light blue rosettes. He was informed of the victory and smiled, saying, "Foolish boys." This anecdote shows that Keate was both more popular and better understood at the end of his reign than at the beginning. In the same year the Eton eight was beaten by the Leander Club eight in a race from Windsor Bridge to Surly and back. (There was no Boveney Lock at that date.) Eton beat Westminster at Staines again in 1836, "in spite of a false start and several intentional fouls."

In 1837 the race was rowed at Datchet, and Westminster won. It was witnessed by William IV., whose sympathies were with Eton ; in fact, he is said not to have recovered from the blow. It is on record, at least, that he pulled up his carriage window, drove home, and never went out again. After this the race was rowed for five years at Putney, Westminster winning in 1842, 1845, and 1846, and Eton in 1843 and 1847. After the last date it was discontinued for a time.



FELLOWS' POND.



WESTON'S YARD. THE NEW BUILDINGS.

CHAPTER VI

DR. HAWTREY AND THE BEGINNINGS OF REFORM

DR. KEATE resigned in 1834, and that year may be taken as the date which divides the immutable Eton of the past from the perpetually changing Eton of the present day. Like all such divisions it is only a rough one. Keate had never been averse from educational reform, but he had seen that discipline was the first necessity, and this he had established. Hawtreys, his successor, was by no means an eager innovator, and was able to do little or nothing until the death of Provost Goodall in 1840. Still, 1834, being the year which marks the change of head master, may most conveniently be chosen to mark the change of policy which seemed, rather late in the day, it is true, to carry the

school out of one century into another. As early as 1830 the condition of education at Eton began to excite criticism. In that year was published the famous indictment of Eton in the "Edinburgh Review" (vol. li., pp. 65-80). This was followed by many pamphlets, some in favour of the School, but most against it. The result of the controversy was that the numbers of the School fell from 627 to 486 in a year, fewer than when Keate became head master. So the provost and fellows were taught in the quickest and most obvious way that it was not safe to close their ears to criticism.

The article in the "Edinburgh Review" is not impartially written, and contains some unctuous absurdities, but its criticisms are usually just, and it professes to give, and in fact does on the whole give a faithful account of the School as it then was. From this account, therefore, we have made some quotations as the best means of giving a general idea of the system of education which the next twenty years was gradually to supersede.

Besides the head master and the lower master, the reviewer says, there were in 1829 ten assistant masters,¹ eight in the upper and two in the lower School. These two divisions, however, were not of equal size; the former containing 556, the latter only 56 boys. The Upper school was divided into four classes or forms, namely, the Sixth and Fifth Forms, the Re-

¹ As there are now about sixty masters at Eton to about 1,000 boys it will be easily understood that ten masters for over 600 boys was a very inadequate number.

move, and the Fourth Form. The reviewer speaks of considerable enmity existing between the Collegers and Oppidans. College at that time, as he points out, served no useful purpose whatever. The choice of scholars at King's College was determined, not by merit, but by seniority, "and as seniority is obtained by long residence at Eton, and as a long residence there is sometimes a great obstacle to the acquirement of knowledge, the lot often misses the most deserving candidates." Further, "Undergraduates at King's College being supposed to arrive at Cambridge with uncommon attainments are not required to pass the University examination." "The amount of instruction communicated by lectures at King's College is very small." "The masters of Eton are almost universally selected from the fellows of King's, and surely no system was ever contrived with such singular infelicity." The reviewer justly calls this system a "circulus vitiosus," speaks of the "diseased frame," the "torpid life" of Eton, and says that reforms cannot be hoped for from those who have "learnt no learning and formed no habits but those of their own College."

He then points out that the principal studies at Cambridge are mathematical, but that at Eton "no instruction is given in any branch of mathematical, physical, metaphysical or moral science, nor in the evidences of Christianity. The only subjects which it is professed to teach are the Greek and Latin languages, as much Divinity as can be gained from construing the Greek Testament, and reading a portion of Tomline on the XXXIX articles, and a little ancient

and modern geography." His conclusion of course is that it is absurd that an undergraduate should not be examined in an entirely new course of study because of a proficiency in knowledge of a totally different kind, supposed to have been acquired at school.

He then proceeds to describe "the studies of a boy about the middle of the school, in a week in which there is no extraordinary holiday." The following is an extract from his description.

"In a common week there is one whole holiday and one half-holiday, with two school times and one chapel, while on Saturday there are three school times, and one chapel. On each of the three other days there are four school times. These amount in all to less than eleven hours in a week [this seems to be an error]. Besides this the boys prepare their lessons out of school, and hear them construed in their tutors' houses. A week's lessons in the Fifth Form consists of about seventy lines of the *Iliad*, seventy of the *Æneid*, two or three pages of each of the compilations called '*Scriptores Græci et Romani*,' thirty or forty lines from the '*Poetæ Græci*,' and twenty or thirty verses from the New Testament. All the poetry construed is learnt by heart. There is a weekly lesson from the Eton Latin Grammar, and a weekly saying lesson from Ovid or Tibullus ; an exercise in Latin prose of at least twenty lines, twenty Latin verses, and five or six stanzas of some lyric measure."

The Eton Greek and Latin Grammars, the writer says, contain much that is useless and exclude much that is useful. They are inaccurate and ill arranged. The rules are not precise, the examples ill chosen. The Greek Grammar is the worse of the two. Needless rules and technical divisions are multiplied without mercy. The declensions and conjugations are made needlessly difficult and contain the most glaring errors.

He complains justly of the selections from Greek prose authors as giving no historical knowledge, as desultory and unintelligent. "In this manner," he continues, "the most valuable remains of ancient literature are neglected, a frivolous habit of mind is generated, the attention is distracted from the really important lessons of history and philosophy to grammatical and metrical trifling, and the most precious years of youth are spent in a course of half-studious idleness." "The Etonian," he concludes, "who goes either to Cambridge or Oxford has not read a single book of Herodotus, Thucydides, Xenophon, Livy, Polybius, or Tacitus. He has not read a single Greek tragedy or comedy; he is utterly ignorant of mathematical or physical science, and even of arithmetic. Modern history and modern languages are, of course, out of the question."

The writer then passes to the moral discipline of the school, which, he says, is no better than the education. He blames the large number of the boys, the tutorial system, by which so much of the masters' time is given to unnecessary revision of exercises, and especially the institution of fagging as it then existed. At that time all boys in the Sixth and Fifth Forms could fag the boys below them. So there were 293 fagmasters and 319 fags. He says that the only *sanction* of fagging is violence. This is certainly untrue now, and probably was then. The power of recognized custom is so strong among boys that the puniest fagmaster could exert his authority without danger of rebellion over the most overgrown lower

boy. "Generally the fags perform most menial offices. They brush clothes, prepare breakfast and tea, fetch and carry, stop balls at cricket, and in short perform the innumerable services which boys armed with all the wantonness of irresponsible power can imagine or desire." Fagging at cricket is now abolished, but most of the other duties mentioned are still performed by fags, and do not seem either painful or degrading. The writer produces no evidence to prove that fags were overworked. He only talks at large about slavery and tyranny. It would be absurd to apply such terms to the fagging of the present day, which the irresistible force of school opinion preserves within moderate bounds, and which forms a kindly and useful connection between the upper and lower boys, who otherwise would hardly ever come in contact. Boys who are bullied at school are almost invariably bullied by those a little stronger and older than themselves, from whom it is at once the duty and the natural inclination of their fagmasters to protect them.

The writer states that it is impossible to prevent bullying at Eton under the present system, by which "no testimony against any boy, except that of an assistant master, is admissible." There is no such rule at present in existence, but it is certain that, rule or no rule, boys will endure almost any cruelty rather than "sneak" of their schoolfellows. And that the reviewer should have expected any result from the legalizing of tale-bearing shows his ignorance of the character of boys. Many of his other remarks, however, are both just and interesting. He complains

that no prizes, except the recently established Newcastle scholarship, exist for the encouragement of the boys. The error now, perhaps, lies the other way, and books are given so lavishly that boys may be led to underrate them. He speaks of the monotony of punishment, stripes for every offence whether grave or light, the operation being performed "on the naked back by the head master himself, who is always a gentleman of great abilities, and sometimes a high dignitary of the Church." He is rather easily shocked at the "impropriety and indecorum of such an exhibition," and complains of its inefficiency as a deterrent. Flogging still exists; it is still inflicted on the "bare back" and by the head master; but the parents of Etonians do not display such sensibility in these matters as the fathers of board school boys and youthful criminals. The writer has nothing good to say for Montem, or for speeches, taken as they were then wholly from Greek and Latin authors, and he speaks of the perfunctory character of the chapel services. Finally, he suggests the remedy of a Royal Commission—a remedy which was afterwards to be adopted.

Edward Craven Hawtreys, who succeeded to the difficult position vacated by Keate, had been senior assistant master under the latter. From the first he made up his mind to reform, and soon after his appointment he sent to Keate a plan of the chief alterations he proposed to make. It met with Keate's approval, but little could be done towards realizing it so long as Goodall remained provost.

Before speaking of Hawtrey's reforms in detail it will be as well to give some account of the man himself, since he, it has been said, left his mark upon the school more than any other head master ; to him, together with the then Duke of Newcastle and Bishop Selwyn, in the opinion of Mr. Gladstone, the regeneration of Eton was mainly due.¹

His character was both a curious and a beautiful one, filled with contradictions which caused strangers to smile, but only made his friends love him the more. His intellect was not naturally profound, and, since he had been educated at Eton and King's, had not had the advantage of the newer scholarship. Yet he saw the advantages of that newer scholarship, and when not blinded by prejudice did his best to support it. In manner he was both pompous and impulsive. He was apt to overwhelm a boy with indignant rhetoric, and then finding he had made a mistake to confess it passionately ; two very bad faults, one would say, in a schoolmaster ; and indeed Hawtrey was never a strict disciplinarian, and his boys used to play tricks upon him. But he had qualities which more than counter-balanced these defects. He understood boys and gained their sympathies, where a poorer nature with the same faults would have left them cold. He had a profound influence over the very boys who told stories at his expense, and the younger masters who were conscious of the defects in his scholarship. The re-

¹ This opinion of Mr. Gladstone's, together with some interesting recollections, is to be found in the Rev. F. St. J. Thackeray's "Memoir of Dr. Hawtrey."

forms he made were valuable but not systematic, and much had to be done by his successors, but though not a great educationalist he was a great head master, since he taught boys to see the beauties of great literature as he saw them, to be generous and simple like himself.

Keate taught the Sixth Form and the upper division of the Fifth Form in upper school, 190 boys in all, and it taxed even his energies merely to keep them in order. To give them any adequate instruction was out of the question, especially as he was supposed at the same time to supervise four assistant masters teaching their divisions of smaller boys in the same large room. Hawtreys at once removed the Sixth Form to the smaller room next door, where boys were then, and still are, flogged. To the Sixth Form he added the twelve highest boys in the Fifth Form, six Collegers and six Oppidans; and this arrangement still continues. He then divided the Fifth Form among four or five of the older masters, each being held wholly and solely responsible for his own division. Under the old system boys had passed indiscriminately from one master to another, a Fourth Form boy often learning from five different instructors, and a Fifth Form boy from three. Henceforward every boy was subject only to his tutor and to his division master for classical instruction. Only the Fourth Form masters continued to teach in upper school. To each of the other masters separate school rooms were given. Hawtreys gave up the personal supervision of the junior masters rather unwillingly, and

made some ineffectual efforts to renew it ten or twelve years after the changes.

He increased the number of masters, and wished to obtain a wider field of selection than King's, whence all the masters had been drawn for some time. An attempt had been made in the last century to appoint an old Oppidan, but had failed ; since that time two old Collegers had been appointed who were not King's men ; but to this extent Hodgson, the reforming provost, who succeeded Goodall in 1840, was not disposed to go ; Hawtrey wished to appoint Mr. (now Professor) Goldwin Smith, and Mr. Henry Coleridge, both old Oppidans and Oxford first class men. The provost objected, and was supported in his objection by the fellows, and Hawtrey was obliged to give way.

Hitherto boys had passed from one form to another simply as a reward for long service. "Trials," an examination at the end of the half, had existed from the middle of the eighteenth century, but it was confined to four papers, and did not affect a boy's place in the school. Hawtrey made the examination more searching and elaborate, and also made a boy's promotion dependent on his passing it. The school books were revised and improved, though they still remained behind the age ; for Hawtrey, as we have said, was an old-fashioned scholar, and had a prejudice in favour of the old Eton Greek grammar. Some attempts were made to improve the teaching of mathematics. In 1836 Hawtrey tried to engage an Old Etonian, also, strange to say, a wrangler, as a mathematical master, but without success. He then obtained the services of his

cousin, Stephen Hawtreys, also a wrangler, who was allowed to build a schoolroom at his own expense,



DR. HAWTREYS HEARING REPETITION.

"Oh, I see what it is ; you haven't learnt it at all."

From a sketch by Francis Tarver.

and to engage assistants on his own responsibility. Unfortunately there already existed an old-established master in writing and arithmetic, by name Major

Hexter, who held a somewhat anomalous position. His instruction was only given and paid for as an "extra," and he was not regarded as one of the regular masters by the boys. He once asked Goodall whether he might wear a gown like the other masters, and the provost replied, "That, Major Hexter, is as you like." He then asked whether in that case the boys could "shirk" him as they "shirked" the other masters; and the provost answered, "That, Major Hexter, will be as they like." Since, after the appointment of Stephen Hawtrey, mathematics still remained an extra, Hexter naturally objected to an infringement upon his long established monopoly. Hawtrey was therefore allowed only to teach the thirty highest boys in the school. At last he agreed to pay Hexter a pension, and so got rid of him; but mathematics remained an "extra" until 1857, when they became a part of the regular work of the school and compulsory, while Stephen Hawtrey was raised to a level with the other masters. His assistants, however, did not obtain the same privileges until after the death of Provost Hodgson.

Hawtrey was well read in French, German and Italian literature, and did not, therefore, share the common indifference towards modern languages. He did not, however, wish to make the study of them compulsory, or a part of the ordinary school work. He held, indeed, that it would be impossible to teach French in class; but he believed in the proposal of the Prince Consort, in 1841, to give annual prizes for French and German. These prizes no doubt encouraged the study of modern languages, though they

were never regularly taught in school until the time of Doctor Hornby.

All these reforms were somewhat tentative and unsystematic. Teaching generally was in a state of transition. The older masters continued more or less to teach as they had always taught, out of the old books and with these old methods. Hawtreys desired to change some of these old methods, but he had been trained according to them himself, and retained some of the prejudices implanted by them. He did not enforce reform upon the school, but he allowed the younger masters to introduce it much as they pleased, and placed few hindrances in their way. He was tolerant and allowed many things, both abuses and innovations, which he did not approve of. So, it has been said, for many years there was a kind of "moderate anarchy" in the teaching at Eton ; no unity of method, only the unity of influence of a great personality.

As has been said, few reforms were possible even in education while Goodall remained provost. Changes of other kinds he would not hear of, and yet these were even more necessary. Hawtreys from the beginning had been anxious to do something for the Collegers, but delayed until the death of Goodall, which occurred in 1840.

The election which followed was marked by an attempt of the fellows to disregard the royal mandate and to elect a provost of their own choice. Their candidate was Mr. John Lonsdale, and they duly elected him. But meanwhile the Queen and her ministers had fixed upon Archdeacon Hodgson, the son-in-law

of Lord Denman, and the old friend of Byron. The fellows were inclined to persist in their choice, but Lonsdale himself gave way and Hodgson was elected. He had been a master at Eton for a short time in 1809, and had then, it is said, wished to improve the condition of the Collegers, and this wish it was which mainly induced him to accept the provostship.

It is difficult to believe the accounts given of life in college at the beginning of this century. Eton was then, as now, the fashionable school, frequented by the sons of noblemen and the richer gentry ; but associated with these, sitting beside them in school, and nominally on terms of equality with them, were the seventy boys for whom the school had been founded, but who were treated far worse than workhouse boys at the present day.

The Collegers lived in four dormitories ; Long Chamber held fifty-two, the remaining eighteen were in lower chamber and upper and lower Carter's chambers. The furniture in these rooms consisted of a bureau, and a folding bed for each boy. There were no chairs, no tables, and a few basins, only used by the Sixth Form. The other boys, apparently, did not wash, but fetched water from the cloisters for the first sixteen boys, the Sixth Form and "Liberty."¹ A college servant was supposed to sweep the rooms, but no one saw that he did it. The lower boys made the beds of their rag-masters, and were occasionally obliged to sleep on the

¹ "Liberty" is the name given to the first six Collegers in the Fifth Form, who are in the "Head's Division" and are allowed to fag.

floor themselves when beds ran short. The place was locked up at 9 p.m. and opened in the morning for early school. During that time the boys were left to themselves; a murder might have been committed, and if the body had been successfully disposed of the authorities would probably not have heard anything about it for days.

In 1838 the boys asked that they might have a regular supply of water. "You will be wanting gas and Turkey carpets next," was the provost's answer. New boys were called "Jews," and their life was a terrible one.

Fagging was very severe. Fags made the beds, got water from the pump in Weston's yard, brought coals in their gowns from Windsor, and looked after the fires. They were frequently tossed in blankets until the year 1832, when a boy was nearly killed, and subjected to all kinds of organized and irregular bullying. Thus it was common for a boy to be dragged suddenly out of bed by a cord fastened to his toe, and so to be hauled up and down the room; also to be treated as a living football, in a narrow square hemmed in by four beds, by the Sixth Form boys, who were supposed to keep order, and whose authority for good and evil was absolute.

The food was scanty in amount, bad in quality, and served in the roughest way. Dinner and supper alone were provided. Mutton was the only meat at both meals. The boy who was too poor to provide himself with breakfast or with a room in the town where he could obtain some amount of cleanliness and privacy,

must have cursed the day on which he obtained the privileges of a Colleger.

This condition of things existing into the middle of this century is a striking example of the feebleness of the collective conscience of a body of men, the individual members of which may be elaborately scrupulous about their own affairs. The provost and fellows of Eton had improved their own condition from time to time without regard to the statutes. They used for their own purposes the money which should rightly have been expended on the scholars committed to their charge, but when the condition of the scholars was brought to their notice, they pleaded that they were treated as the statutes ordered. It is plain, however, that they felt that such treatment was not likely to satisfy outsiders, for the King of Prussia, who visited Eton in 1842, was not allowed to see Long Chamber.

Hawtrey and Hodgson agreeing in their anxiety to alter this state of things, were able to overcome all opposition. They began by raising the standard of the boys admitted. Hitherto the examination had been a mere matter of form, the election in fact depending on influence. In 1842 the examination became really competitive. It was considered a great triumph when, in 1846, both Newcastle scholar and medallist were Collegers. It is now a rule which has few exceptions.

The next improvement was in the food. Beef was allowed to vary the mutton, and the supper was made more plentiful; lastly came the new buildings

in Weston's yard, which were completed in 1846. They contained separate rooms for forty-nine Collegers, the twenty-one younger boys remaining in Long Chamber, which was divided into cubicles, stalls as they are called in college, in 1863.

Now only fifteen boys remain in these stalls, and part of long chamber has been divided into rooms occupied by Sixth Form boys.

Breakfast and tea were provided, and finally a master in college was appointed, who slept in the same building with the Collegers, and was responsible for their discipline. The first person to hold this office was the Rev. C. J. Abraham, who nobly gave up a prosperous house for the purpose, and by his influence and kindness did much to raise the tone of college, and to mitigate the severities both of fagging and bullying.

In the furthest corner of the new buildings was placed the school library. Books had been presented to the school by Dr. Rosewell in the seventeenth century, but for some time had lain disused in a cupboard. A library had been founded by Praed in connection with "Pop," and George IV. had presented the school with the Delphin Classics in 1821. All these books were placed in the new library, to which Dr. Hawtreys made splendid additions out of his own purse. The library has been enriched from time to time by other private gifts, and is now maintained by a charge made to every boy in or above the middle division of the Fifth Form. It was removed to a room in the new schools in 1887 to

make way for additions to College. But an adequate building to take the place of the old school library, dear to the memory of every Collegger at least, for Colleggers made most use of it, still remains to be erected. About the same time the sanatorium on the Eton Wick Road was built at a cost of £6,000, and in



WESTON'S YARD.

1846 a new system of drainage was introduced. The old Christopher, situated nearly opposite the chapel, was pulled down, after some opposition, and masters' houses erected in its place. An account of the restoration of the chapel will be found in the general account of the buildings.

Hawtreya abolished the fiction by which rowing was ignored by the authorities. The result of this fiction had been that boys boated whether they could swim or not, and were occasionally drowned. In 1840 a boy was drowned close to Windsor Bridge, in consequence of which boating was legalized, and no boy henceforward allowed to go on the river unless he could pass a test in swimming. Since that time only

one boy has been drowned, and he, Seton Donaldson, an expert swimmer and a member of the eight, was entangled in a towing rope under an overturned boat. At the same time bathing places were made at Athens, Upper Hope, and Cuckoo Weir.

Hawtreys did something for the religious instruction of the boys, abolished the useless institution of "Prose,"

*Photo.**Hills and Saunders.*

BATHING AT UPPER HOPE.

made a weekly lesson on the Greek Testament compulsory throughout the school, and started daily chapel, but the services still left much to be desired. The choir was shared with St. George's Chapel, and it was not fashionable for the boys to take any part in the singing or responses.

But the most famous and courageous of Hawtreys' reforms was undoubtedly the abolition of "Montem."

Very full and interesting accounts of this famous custom are given by Sir H. Maxwell Lyte, and other writers on Eton. Here there is only space for a few words on the subject. The origin of Montem is doubtful. The statutes of Winchester, the model of those at Eton, provide that the scholars shall take a daily walk "ad montem," that is to say to St. Catherine's Hill, and Wykehamists still speak of going "on hills." This may well be the origin of the word, at any rate.

Malim, in his "Consuetudinarium," speaks of the boys going "ad montem" about the date of the conversion of St. Paul, to perform certain ceremonies, of which he gives an account. These ceremonies seem to have consisted of a contest of wit and of an initiation of the new boys. In his account there is frequent mention of the word "salt." The new boys are seasoned with salt, and salt tears are made to run down their cheeks. Also the verses extemporized concerning them contain as much salt as possible. This use of the word salt is almost the only thing connecting the ceremonies described by Malim with those abolished by Dr. Hawtrey. The intermediate changes and developments cannot now be traced. Sir Henry Maxwell Lyte has discovered a Latin proclamation referring apparently to the Montem procession of 1640. It orders the new boys to assemble in hall, and gives a list of officers, including consuls, quæstors, senators, and a magister equitum, but throws no light on the nature of the ceremonies. A captain of Montem is recorded in 1670. A full account of Montem about the middle of the last century

is given by one Richard Huggett. He speaks of a "procession of the school quite in the military way," all the boys wearing uniform and sounding drums, trumpets, etc. He also speaks of two scholars, called "salt-bearers," who went abroad with handkerchiefs of salt in their hands, offering salt to all and obtaining money in return. From Huggett's account it appears that the ceremony had almost reached its final form. The word salt, however, was to suffer yet another change of meaning, for it came to be applied to the money collected, and in this century the salt-bearers no longer carried salt, but tickets, which they gave to all contributors. "Montem," at the time of its abolition, occurred every three years. The following is a short account of its elaborate ceremonial.

At dawn on Montem day twelve runners, the three last collegers in the Sixth Form and nine others from the Upper Fifth Form whose duty it was to assist the salt bearers, set out for the different stations. They were clad in fancy dress, and carried satin money bags and painted staves, with Latin and Greek quotations inscribed on them. These runners were accompanied by hirelings with pistols to protect them from real highwaymen, and it was their duty to stop everyone on whom it seemed possible to levy a contribution.

The salt-bearers themselves, the second Colleger, usually, and the captain of the Oppidans, collected money only within the College or its immediate neighbourhood. They generally obtained contributions from the Royal Family, George III. and his queen always giving fifty guineas apiece. The total amount

collected by this means varied, it is said, from about £450 to £1,250. In later montems the average was about £1,000. This money was nominally given to the captain of Montem, but the expenses which he had to defray out of it were so large, that he often cleared only a small part of it. Thus he entertained the members of the Fifth and Sixth Forms at breakfast in Hall. He gave parting dinners to the Sixth Form on several occasions before the day. He rewarded the salt-bearers, runners, and others, for their trouble, and, finally, he gave a great dinner to the whole school at two inns near Salt Hill, where, if he was unpopular, the boys thoughtfully did as much damage as possible, so that his profits might be small. After the breakfast given by the captain, absence was called in school-yard at which all the boys appeared in their fancy dresses. They held rank corresponding to their position in the school. All those bearing military titles wore military dress, according to their rank. The Fifth Form Collegers and the Lower boys wore blue coats with brass buttons, white waistcoats and trousers, silk stockings, and pumps. After 1840, the Collegers wore the uniform of lieutenants in the navy.

After absence the boys fell in and marched in their appointed order twice round the school-yard and once round Weston's yard, where the ensign waved the great flag. The procession then set out through the Playing Fields to Salt Hill, to the music of several regimental bands, and followed by a stream of visitors. Arrived there, the ensign again waved his flag on the top of the mount in several directions, the crowd of

boys and visitors standing at the bottom of the mount. Up to the year 1778 there was a further ceremony. A Colleger, dressed in full canonicals, called the parson, and another Colleger, dressed as a clerk, and so entitled, read some mock prayers in Latin, the service concluding with the kicking of the clerk from the top of the hill to the bottom. This ceremony may have originated the theory that the rites of Montem had their origin in the election of the Boy Bishop, but, as we have seen, it is not mentioned in the earliest account of the proceedings. It came to an end in 1778, when it shocked the religious susceptibilities of Queen Charlotte.

Absence was called in the middle of the day, after which occurred the dinner mentioned above. The boys returned to Eton in any order they chose in the afternoon.

The opening of the Great Western Railway to Windsor was the immediate cause of the abolition of Montem. Reforms of all kinds had been postponed during the provostship of Doctor Goodall. But it is said that Hodgson, his successor, had long wished to see the last of Montem. The rabble of excursionists brought down by the railway in 1841 strengthened his determination, and the beginning of the end was foreshadowed in certain changes introduced at the Montem of 1844.

In that year the procession started an hour later than usual, and the boys were forbidden to enter the inns, refreshments being provided in a tent near the mount. All the boys were ordered to return to

absence at half-past three. And the dinners were held no Fellows' Eyot.

In October, 1846, the head master and the lower master wrote to the provost, suggesting the abolition of Montem. The provost was in full agreement with them, and consulted the fellows, three of whom supported him, while four advocated reform only. A majority of the masters was in favour of abolition. One of the fellows supported the custom as a protest, by way of a burlesque pilgrimage, against the superstitions of the Church of Rome. The provost then laid the matter before the Queen, who had attended the last two Montems with the Prince Consort. They expressed themselves in favour of reform rather than of abolition; but the provost pressed his point, and the Queen, after consulting Lord John Russell, who communicated her decision to the provost, finally yielded. The result was made public in the beginning of the year 1847. A meeting of old Etonians assembled in London to protest. But the opinion of the most eminent supported the authorities. As the Montem day drew near there were fears of an "undergraduate onslaught," and thirty London policemen in plain clothes were secured to keep order. Very little disturbance occurred. A few lower boys broke windows and hissed the master at absence, and a flag was buried at Salt Hill. The greater part of the school remained orderly, and the "Oxford Children" did not appear. Doctor Hawtrey gave £200 out of his own pocket to the boy who would have been Captain of Montem, and a dinner to the boys in general.

The tranquillity with which the abolition was received showed that the mass of sensible Etonian opinion, even among the boys, supported it. Picturesque customs are excellent things, but not so important to a scholar as discipline, order, and morality, and there is no doubt that all three were threatened by the triennial celebration of Montem.

Provost Hodgson died in 1852, and Dr. Hawtreys was chosen in his place by general consent ; indeed, he was elected by the fellows before the royal mandamus, which was delayed in its passage, arrived. Since the mandamus, however, concurred in the choice of the fellows, this assertion of their statutory rights passed unchallenged.



THE CHAPEL, FROM THE SOUTH-WEST.

CHAPTER VII

REFORM AND RECONSTITUTION

HAWTREY was succeeded by Charles Old Goodford, one of the assistant masters, though some of his colleagues would have preferred Edward Coleridge, the Lower master. Mr. Sterry quotes from one of these the following character of Goodford :

“Goodford is honest, righteous, methodical, learned, brave, laconic, prudent, unmeddlesome. He is also sleepy, weak in health, uninfluential, obscure, unpolished. No one admires him ; everyone respects him. We shall probably be much happier under him than under Coleridge.”

This is not a hostile opinion, but it is not altogether just. Goodford had not made a great reputation before

he became head, because he had given all his time to his duties as assistant master. He was not striking or dignified in appearance, it is true, but he was never wanting either in energy or judgment. He was an excellent scholar of an altogether more modern kind than Hawtrey, and was well read in foreign literature. He certainly surpassed the expectations even of his friends as a head master. He accomplished many valuable reforms both in education and in discipline, and, unlike his predecessors, did not pretend to live in lofty ignorance of the athletics of the school.

He abolished the absurd convention of "shirking" by degrees. Hitherto the river had been in bounds, the approaches to it out of bounds. Henceforth the boys were able to reach the river without breaking a rule which no one expected them to observe. Finally, in 1865, they were allowed to go anywhere they liked except in the back streets of Eton and Windsor and the different railway stations.

He also abolished Check nights and the Oppidan dinner. Alternate Saturdays after the 4th of June in the summer term were Check nights. They were so called because the Upper boats, their crews wearing the checked shirts which were part of their 4th of June uniforms, rowed up to Surly to a dinner of ducks, green peas, and champagne, while the Lower boats, after a repast of cake and champagne at the boat houses, met them on their return and rowed back with them.

The Oppidan dinner took place at the "White Hart" in Windsor towards the end of the summer term. The president was the captain of the boats, supported by

the captain of the Oppidans and the captain of the eleven. The guests consisted of the eleven, the eight, and others whom the captain of the boats might consider worthy of the honour.

The dinner began at 4 p.m., was interrupted by 6 o'clock absence, but resumed, and then carried on until lock-up. It was abolished in 1860, and as a compensation the eight were allowed to row at Henley.

Among the educational reforms carried through by Dr. Goodford were the admission of old Oppidans as masters, and the institution of the "Army Class," which has since become so important a part of the school education.

The "First Hundred," which now consists of the first four divisions of the school, originated in Goodford's separation of the two first divisions of the Fifth Form from the rest of the "Upper Division." The tendency of the Fifth Form has always been to grow to an unwieldy size, and it has been split up from time to time until it now consists of "First Hundred," Upper Division, Middle Division, and Lower Division; each of these divisions doing different work, and being in turn split up into divisions of convenient numbers for teaching purposes.

A rule was made that the scholars elected to King's in July should go into residence as a matter of course three months later, and at the same time the Foundation, hitherto confined to native Englishmen, was thrown open to all British born subjects.

In spite of all these changes and improvements there was a general opinion that much more sweeping reforms

were necessary both in the system of education and the whole constitution of the school. The first notable expression of the opinion was uttered, curiously enough, by Sir J. T. Coleridge in a lecture given in a small town in Devonshire in 1860. This was followed, in 1861, by a violent article in the "Cornhill Magazine," by "Jacob Omnium" (Matthew James Higgins), like Sir J. T. Coleridge an old Etonian. Neither of these criticisms would have been important enough to produce any tangible result if they had not given expression to a wide-spread dissatisfaction, which immediately revealed itself in a long newspaper correspondence. Finally, in May, 1861, a Royal Commission was appointed to inquire into the revenues and management of the nine public schools of England.

In 1862, Hawtrey died and was succeeded by Goodford, who thus just escaped the reforms which the Commission foreshadowed. Dr. Balston, a fellow and ex-assistant master, became head master. His tenure of the office was short and uneventful. He was opposed to most of the changes which the report of the Commission soon showed were inevitable, and in 1868 he resigned to escape the responsibility of carrying out these changes, and again became a fellow of the College. During his rule the old Eton Latin Grammar, dating from the seventeenth century, and other of the more obsolete textbooks were discarded.

The report of the Commission, which was issued in 1865, filled two very large volumes. It contained several pages of general recommendations applicable to all the public schools, Eton included, and five

pages of recommendations which concerned Eton alone.

The general recommendations advocated a reform of the governing bodies of all the schools. The Commission came to the conclusion that, in the case of Eton, the provost's authority over the head master was too great, and his interference too minute. They attributed the excess of authority to the lack of an effective governing body, and they recommended that the new governing body should consist of the provost, fifteen stipendiary fellows, that is to say, the fellows of the college as they then existed, and nine honorary fellows, to be chosen from persons qualified by their position or attainments to fill that office. The latter were to receive no emoluments, and residence was not to be required of them. Three of them were to be nominated by the Crown, five elected by the Governing Body, and the ninth was to be *ex-officio* the provost of King's.

They recommended that all payments by Collegers for instruction, etc., should be abolished, that their diet should be more varied, and that certain services performed by fags should be henceforward performed by servants.

That the number of boys should not exceed eight hundred.

That the number of boys in a division should not exceed thirty.

That the system by which books specially designed for Eton were used should be discontinued, and that all the books used should be carefully revised.

That the amount of repetition should be diminished,

and the system of construing school work with the tutor should be abolished.

That translation from English into Greek and Latin should be substituted for original theses in those languages.

That more time should be given to the study of natural science and modern languages, including German and Italian, at that time not taught at all.

That the head master should give less time to school work and more to general superintendence.

That exhibitions for Oppidans should be founded.

That all close Eton scholarships and exhibitions at the Universities should be awarded by examination, and not by nomination. That all such scholarships and exhibitions, confined to Collegers who have failed to obtain a King's scholarship, should be thrown open to Oppidans.

That the time table should be recast, so as to provide more uniformity of work.

That there should be a daily morning choral service in chapel fifteen minutes in length.

That permission to keep a boarding house should in future only be given to mathematical and classical masters, and that mathematical masters should be placed on an equality in all respects with classical; and finally that the system of shirking should be abolished.

It will be seen from this list of recommendations that the changes in the constitution of the College advocated were more sweeping than those in the system of education. The "observations" of the

Commission were not on the whole unfavourable. They criticised the tutorial system as giving, perhaps, too much liberty to diversities of opinion among the different tutors. There was a danger that form masters and tutors should perplex the boys by adopting inconsistent principles of teaching. This danger, they suggested, was likely to be greater with every increase in the number of boys and consequently of tutors: "We cannot contemplate," they say, "the indefinite further expansion of the school without uneasiness." The recommendation consequent on these remarks that the numbers of the school should not exceed 800 has not been accepted. There are now more than 1,000 boys at Eton. But the recommendation was probably wise. A school must be ruled and supervised by one man, and there are limits to the powers and energies even of the present head master of Eton; nor could it be assumed that the Governing Body will find his equal to succeed him. Great head masters are rare, and only a great head master can make his personal influence felt throughout a school of a thousand boys.

The Commission complained that no serious effort had been made in the course of instruction to harmonize what is new with what is old. "It is not sufficient," the report says, "to add new branches of study to the old course. It is necessary to make room for them by a revision of the old course itself." To do this was perhaps the most important task before the new head master. The process of revision was necessarily a very gradual one, and has lasted well into the time of the present head.

The Report of the Royal Commission was followed in 1868 by an Act which authorized certain commissioners appointed for the purpose to draw up new constitutions for the chief public schools, Eton among them. In 1869 the "Governing Body" was appointed to take the place of the old rule of the provost and fellows. In 1872 the statutes of the founder were formally repealed, the seven surviving fellows of the old system being allowed to retain their fellowships, with all that appertained to them, for life; though their authority was shared with that of the new Governing Body, who also took the title of fellows, a curious arrangement which led to some confusion in the new statutes. These statutes were drawn up by the Governing Body in 1871-1872. They ordain that the Foundation of the College shall consist of a provost and ten fellows (that is to say the Governing Body, who, of course, have no resemblance to the old fellows, except that they succeed to their authority), a head master and a lower master, at least seventy scholars and not more than two conducts, or chaplains.

The provost is to be appointed by the Crown. He must be a member of the Church of England, but not of necessity a clergyman, at least thirty years old, and a Master of Arts or the holder of some equal or superior Oxford or Cambridge degree. He is to exercise a general superintendence over the affairs of the College and over its officials and servants; to preside at all meetings of the fellows, and to exercise a casting vote when necessary. He is to reside in College always during school time, except when ill or called

elsewhere on College business. In case of his temporary incapacity the Governing Body may appoint a pro-provost from among the fellows. Any charge against the provost must be made by the Governing Body to the visitor, the Bishop of Lincoln, who has power to deprive him of his office. The provost's salary is fixed at £2,200 a year, together with the lodge, to be kept in repair at the expense of the College. He is not allowed to hold any other office of profit, or to practise any profession or business.

The fellows are to be the "ten members of the Governing Body other than the provost," constituted by the statute of May 11, 1869. The provost and fellows have power to expel any fellow on proof of a charge preferred by any two other fellows. The vice-provost is to be chosen annually by the Governing Body from among the fellows, masters, or ex-masters of the College. (As a matter of fact the same person has always been chosen from year to year when once appointed vice-provost.) Bursars, one or more, are also to be appointed annually by the Governing Body, not necessarily from among the fellows.

There is to be at least one general meeting of the fellows every school time, and others summoned by the provost at a week's notice whenever he thinks them necessary, or whenever they may be demanded by three of the fellows. One third of the fellows is to constitute a quorum.

The head master is to be appointed by the Governing Body, and to hold his office at their pleasure. His necessary qualifications are the same as those of the

provost. Like him he must be resident during every school time, except for some good reason. The appointment and dismissal of the assistant masters is in his hands, but the number and salaries of such masters are subject to the approval of the Governing Body. He is charged with the discipline and education of the school, and is in all respects bound by the statutes. He is to be given a house within the precincts of the College ; kept in repair at the expense of the College. He may hold no office of profit, nor without the consent of the Governing Body undertake any duties except those of his office. His stipend is to be determined from time to time by the Governing Body, and to be derived from fees paid by the College for the scholars and by the Oppidans for themselves. He is to receive no other fees from the boys.

The lower master ("Magister Oſtiarius," to call him by his old title,) is to be appointed by the head master, to rank immediately after him, and to act as his deputy in his absence.

The scholars are to be at least seventy in number (in practice they are always seventy and no more). They are to be elected every year on the last Monday in July, according to the number of vacancies. The list of those elected is to be published in order of merit. This list exceeds the number of immediate vacancies, and so soon as a new vacancy arises the best boy on the list is elected to fill it. No scholarship is to remain vacant for more than three weeks during a school time. The list is cancelled on the morning before the succeeding election, and no

candidate whose name remains on it has any claim to preference at the succeeding election. Scholars are elected by the Governing Body from among candidates examined by certain appointed examiners. Scholarships are open to all British subjects giving evidence of the date of their birth and a certificate of good character. The head master has the right to expel a scholar and to deprive him during not more than one school time of the advantages of his scholarship. A scholar so expelled or deprived has the right of appeal to the Governing Body.

There are to be established also exhibitions of £50 a year open to all boys between their fourteenth and sixteenth birthdays ; these may be held until a boy leaves the school or gains a scholarship. One of these is now given every year, and is known as the Oppidan Exhibition. Regulations are also made as to other scholarships and exhibitions, known as the Reynolds, Bryant, Berriman, Hetherington, Davies and Chamberlayne. They are to be tenable for four years, and not more than three of them are to be offered in one year. The conducts are to be appointed by the Governing Body, and are to be not more than two in number.

As livings in the patronage of the College become vacant they are to be offered to the clerical masters and conducts in order of seniority.

The Governing Body may give pensions to retiring masters who have served fifteen years. Such pensions are not to exceed £400 a year.

The Governing Body may enlarge the existing establishment of the College, and found new exhibi-

tions, if the income of the property of the College increases so as to allow of their doing so. In case of further sufficient increase they may establish subordinate schools in connection with the college.

All questions as to the construction of these statutes are to be determined by the Governing Body, but any person affected by their interpretation may appeal to the visitor, the Bishop of Lincoln. In these statutes, it may be remarked, where the provost and fellows are spoken of, both the Governing Body and the old fellows are meant. It will be seen, therefore, that the old fellows' powers are very much restricted. This leads in some cases to rather curious results, and the statutes, as Mr. Sterry has pointed out, are not well draughted. The "Governing Body" itself, its name, and its constitution, have failed to satisfy many old Etonians. The name is vague, modern and ugly, suggesting a hospital, an asylum, or a home for decayed gentlewomen, anything in fact rather than the ancient and famous foundation which it governs. The body itself including, as Matthew Arnold said of a possible English academy, everything that is learned and distinguished, is likely to be rather inert and difficult of access, since its individual members are usually men with too many preoccupations to give much attention to the foundation they are supposed to rule. Yet in practice the system works well enough. The Governing Body leaves the government to the provost and head master, and remains merely an inexpensive luxury. Supposing, however, it were necessary to bring public opinion to bear on the executive authority, the Governing Body no doubt would act as a medium be-

tween the two to the prevention of violence and scandal. This has never happened yet and is not likely to happen. But experience has shown that exclusive and secluded corporations, such as governed Eton before its change of constitution, will often offer a blind resistance to necessary reform, which is only carried at last by compulsion and then often carried to an extreme.

On the resignation of Doctor Balston in 1885, Doctor Hornby was appointed head master. He was neither an old Collegger nor a King's man, nor had he ever been an assistant master at Eton. His appointment, therefore, broke through several long established traditions, and was significant of the many reforms that were to follow. He had had a distinguished career as a scholar, a cricketer and an oarsman, both at Eton, where he was an Oppidan, and at Balliol College, Oxford, where he was the rival in the schools and on the river of the all-accomplished Chitty, late Lord Justice of the Court of Appeal. Afterwards he became a master at Durham School and Winchester College, so that he was able to bring a wide experience to bear on the difficult problems with which the report of the Royal Commission confronted him.

The changes under his rule were numerous and beneficial. At the same time many old customs disappeared, from indifference rather than for any better reason, that might well have been kept up. The provost and fellows of King's ceased to take any part in the election of Eton scholars. For more than four centuries Latin notices of these elections had been posted on the doors of the College and the chapel. An

advertisement in the newspaper took the place of these. The provost of King's and the "Posers" came no more, of course, to Eton in July, and the ceremony of their reception under Lupton's Tower and the Latin "Cloister Speech" disappeared. This was inevitable, but not so the discontinuance of the custom by which a collegier elected to King's appeared before the provost in full dress, with knee breeches, silk stockings, and pumps, to have his gown, tacked together in front for the purpose, ripped open by the provost as a symbol of his formal "expulsion."

"Grace cup," drunk to the pious memory of the founder, on his day, and also on the Queen's birthday, was abolished in 1883, no one knows why ; and "Bever" has disappeared since with more reason. Winchester has been luckier in the preservation of her old customs than Eton. Her stout conservatism is shown in the continual use of many curious mediæval words known as "notions," whereas the words peculiar to Eton are few in number, and most of them used only by Collegers. This is to be regretted, since it is certain that at one time the two schools used many terms in common elsewhere obsolete.

The reforms accomplished by Dr. Hornby were so great that, as Sir Henry Maxwell Lyte remarks, "less difference is observable between the time-tables of 1765 and 1865 than between those of 1865 and 1875. Many of them, it will be seen, were the result of the recommendations of the Commission. The "Latin Themes," which had hitherto been composed merely on a subject set by the master, were given up for

translations from English into Latin, though the old system is still occasionally reverted to in the upper parts of the school.

Extra studies, or "extras," as they are called, were imposed on the three first divisions (now on the "First Hundred"), every member of which may choose a subject from modern languages, history, science, and the less read classical authors, on which he has to spend two hours a week. French became compulsory for all boys below the three first divisions. An extra school hour at 9.45 was established on all half holidays. The eves of saints' days ceased to be half holidays. Chapel was no longer compulsory on the afternoons of holidays and half holidays, but a daily service was held, to be attended by all the school, at 9.45.

Science became a regular part of the work of the Fifth Form in 1869, and for the Remove in 1875. The number of "saying" or repetition lessons was reduced to two a week. All the mathematical, science, and French masters were raised to the same status with the classical. No new leases of Houses were given to "dames" or other persons not on the staff of the College.

The Second and First Forms, Upper Greek, Lower Greek, sense and nonsense, all disappeared, and the divisions of the school took the form which they still retain, and which is described in the account of Eton of to-day. The lower division of the Fifth Form and the remove were divided into three divisions instead of two, and the Fourth Form into four instead of three.

Trials henceforward took place three times a year, and a boy could not enter the First Hundred without passing them. By an old and objectionable custom every boy had been compelled to leave a fee on the head master's table when he took leave of him. A capitation tax was henceforward substituted for this curious system of tipping, but the head master still gives every boy who obtains his "bene discessit" a copy of Gray's works as a "leaving book." It had long been the custom for boys to give each other leaving books. Hogg mentions that Shelley had many handsomely bound volumes so given to him in his rooms at Oxford. The Royal Commission, remarking that this pleasant usage had degenerated into extravagance, and had become a serious tax upon parents, recommended its discontinuance. It was therefore forbidden by the head master.

Doctor Hornby's rule lasted for sixteen years, from 1868 to 1884. During that time the numbers of the school remained almost stationary, fluctuating between about 900 and 880. It was a time of change and experiment, and of much external criticism, sometimes fair, sometimes malicious, perhaps the most critical period though which Eton has passed in the last hundred years, for the sweeping changes recommended by the Royal Commission were then carried out, and there was a danger that an ancient and conservative foundation might not be able to adapt itself readily to them. This danger was happily overcome by the wisdom and tact of the head master and provost. The change in the constitution of the college did not

have the evil effects which many expected from it. The change in the system of education produced no violent dislocation of the teaching machinery, and when, in 1884, Provost Goodford died, and was succeeded by Dr. Hornby, the school had passed through its revolutionary period, and it remained for the new head master only to improve the efficiency of the system already established.

There was very little doubt who that new head master would be. Certain newspapers were kind enough to recommend a candidate of their own, but the candidate favoured by the great body of Etonians and also by the Governing Body was the Rev. Edmond Warre, who had for long been an assistant master. On his election the newspapers, justly indignant that their advice had not been followed, lamented, rather vaguely, the great opportunity which the Governing Body had missed. Etonians, however, were well satisfied with the choice, and sixteen years' experience has not lessened their satisfaction. The new head master had been an Oppidan, a scholar of Balliol, and a first class man. Like his predecessor he was equally distinguished as an oarsman, and had for many years coached the Eton eight.





Photo.

INTERIOR OF THE CHAPEL.

T. P.



ETON FROM BARNES POOL BRIDGE.

CHAPTER VIII

THE BUILDINGS

THE documentary materials for a history of the buildings at Eton, and particularly of the chapel, are unusually complete and of unusual interest, since they not only enable us to follow the progress of the buildings as they were actually erected, but contain a fairly explicit account of the magnificent plans of the Founder, which were never carried out.

It is impossible, owing to the necessary limits of space, to give a full account of these plans, or of their gradual development, which may be traced in a series of documents still extant. It can only be stated here that the plan of the chapel, originally of modest size, was twice enlarged, until it reached the dimensions of a great cathedral, with a nave as large as that of

Lincoln and a choir of the same size as the existing chapel. Owing to the deposition of the Founder this design was carried no further than the choir. Had it been completed, the result would have been a unique building, for there is no late Gothic church in England of anything like the size. It would have resembled an enormous hall without triforium or transepts, with vast spaces of glass, and slender shafts supporting a very wide roof. Had it remained with all its glass intact it would have been a better example of the much misunderstood art of the last Perpendicular architects than even King's College Chapel.

Henry also intended to build a large cloister to the north of the chapel, where the present school yard is situated, with a quadrangle behind it in the position of the present cloisters. The only part of this original design finally carried out was the hall and the kitchen. We will now pass to a short account of the existing buildings.

The foundation stone of the chapel was laid by the Founder in person, perhaps on June 5th, 1442. The progress of the buildings may be traced from the building accounts rediscovered in 1866, which consist of wage books, lists of articles used, and often of the places from which they came, and general accounts.

Exact details of the progress of the buildings cannot now be ascertained. There is no doubt that at first certain existing buildings were altered and enlarged for the temporary occupation of the members of the college, at the same time that the new buildings were being erected.

In 1443, as we have seen, Bekynton was consecrated within the walls of the chapel, so that the building of it must have advanced some way by that time. The chapel must have been nearly finished in 1448. It is therefore puzzling to find that the dimensions of the existing choir correspond very closely with those of Henry's last and largest design, which was made after that date. Only one conclusion seems possible, namely, that the first church was pulled down in or about 1448 to make way for the larger building, which by that time would alone satisfy the ambition of Henry.¹ The choir of the larger building must have been near completion by 1459, since the records of that year mention payments for the ironwork of the east window. From this time, with the triumph of the Yorkists, the troubles of Eton begin, and the buildings made little or no progress. Not until 1468 was a sustained effort made to finish the chapel. Then William of Waynflete, although occupied with his own foundation of Magdalen College, Oxford, took it in hand. In 1475 there is record of a contract for a rood-loft, and in 1480 it is probable that the building was ready for service.

It is not improbable that Waynflete proposed to build a nave, though a smaller one than that planned by Henry; if so, the idea was soon abandoned for the present ante-chapel, which was probably built between 1479 and 1482.

The chapel, as we have said, follows closely in its

¹ Fuller reasons for this belief will be found in Willis and Clark, vol. i., p. 423, *et seq.*

dimensions Henry's final plan for the choir of the great collegiate church. It is, without the ante-chapel, 150 feet long and 40 feet broad, and is divided into eight bays by buttresses. The windows each contain five lights, and the east window nine. The floor is raised about thirteen feet above the level of the school yard. The buttresses are all topped with modern pinnacles, and the window tracery is very beautiful in design and delicately moulded; between the windows inside are clusters of slender shafts rising to the corbels of the wooden roof, which add greatly to the beauty of the interior. It is probable that the building was never designed to carry a stone vault, as the buttresses are much smaller than the buttresses of King's Chapel, and there is no mention of a stone vault in the will. Also it is proved by the estimates that the original design of the chapel contemplated a wooden roof.

The ante-chapel is a much humbler building in proportion to the choir, than that of New College, Oxford, of which it is probably more or less an imitation. It does not project beyond the buttresses of the choir, is lower than the choir itself, and does not contain any pillars. It was originally built of Headington stone, the material which has worn so badly in many of the Oxford Colleges. In 1877, however, it was entirely refaced with Bath stone. The ante-chapel is entered by a flight of steps, both from the north and south. It is rather clumsily connected with the choir by an arch, under which is the organ screen with the organ. The chapel is also entered by a flight



THE CHAPEL : EAST END.

of steps on the north side, near which is the chapel of Provost Lupton (1504-1535). This is a rich little building of Tudor style, separated from the chapel by a stone screen, with an elaborately groined vault. Lupton also gave a reredos of stone, which was destroyed in 1547. In 1559 the high altar was destroyed, and the famous frescoes whitewashed in 1560. The following entry refers to their obliteration.

"Item to the Barber for wypinge owte the Imagery worke vppon the walles in the churche. vi^s. viii^d." Waynflete had fitted the chapel with low stalls, which left a large blank space between their tops and the string course of the windows. This space was filled on both sides of the choir with frescoes, divided into seventeen compartments on each side, alternate compartments containing subject pictures and single figures of saints. The subject pictures were taken from the "Legends of the Saints" and other books, and all referred to the protection given by the Virgin to her worshippers. Six of the compartments were occupied with the story of Constance, told by Chaucer in "The Man of Lawe's Tale."

Sir Henry Maxwell Lyte says that these frescoes were far more refined than any English frescoes or illuminations of that date, and he thinks therefore that some of them must have been by foreigners. He also quotes the opinion of Street, who, writing in 1847, said they were the first which had yet been discovered in England, and were probably the work of Florentine fifteenth-century artists, perhaps pupils of Fra Angelico. Street, however, was hardly an expert on

such matters, and wrote at a time when critical distinction between different schools of primitive art was very imperfect. Sir Henry Maxwell Lyte thinks that they were probably executed by Flemish artists, or under their direction. The audit rolls show that these frescoes were painted between 1479 and 1487. Owing to the "wypinge owte by the Barber," they were preserved until the present century in excellent condition. When Godolphin was Provost (1695-1732), they were further hidden by high panelling, which reached right up to the bottom of the windows. This panelling was cleared away when the chapel suffered restoration in 1847, and the paintings in the five western bays on each side were discovered—some slightly injured, but most of them in wonderful preservation. They do not seem, however, to have aroused interest, and the upper row of figures was destroyed by the clerk of the works before anyone thought fit to interfere. Then one of the Fellows protested, and no more were destroyed; but Provost Hodgson, fearing that idolatrous representations of saints would undermine the Protestantism of his boys, had them once more concealed, in spite of the protests of the Prince Consort. Drawings were made of them by Dr. Essex, an architect of the period, and are preserved in the library. This is all that bigotry and ignorance have left of them.

Further damage was done in Elizabeth's reign. A stone tabernacle was destroyed and the colours obliterated from Lupton's chapel; and in 1569-70 the rood-loft was removed.

There is no record when the stained glass was destroyed, but in 1607 we hear that the glass was new-leaded and a new lead roof provided. In 1626 the east window was filled with painted glass. In 1614 a new organ was erected—where, is not known. In 1625 a “great frame of Tymber” was put up under the western arch.

At the end of the seventeenth century a thorough restoration took place. The chapel was wainscotted and the organ set upon a new organ loft in 1701. The organ screen, which was placed two bays east of the western arch, was a “handsome classical composition,” with fluted pillars. The walls were panelled right up to the windows, concealing the entrance to Lupton’s chapel. A “classical” baldacchino, adorned with urns, was placed over the altar, hiding the lower part of the east window. The roof was plastered inside and painted white. In 1769 the ante-chapel was decorated with stucco work. In 1799 a statue was erected there to the founder. So the chapel remained until 1840, when a protest against its condition by Sir J. T. Coleridge started the work of restoration. It began with the removal of the baldacchino and the erection of a new altar, altar-rails, and pulpit.

In 1844 a subscription was started to fill the east window with stained glass, which was accomplished in 1849. Then the windows next to it on the north and south were also filled with stained glass, and a number of architects were invited to send in designs for the general restoration of the interior, and the work

was given to a Mr. Deeson. A plan for vaulting the chapel with stone was relinquished, and the wooden roof remained, cleared of its paint, and with some carved woodwork added, to mark the division of the bays. The "classical" organ loft was removed, and



THE ANTE-CHAPEL AND ORGAN SCREEN IN 1816.

(From Ackermann.)

a new organ, costing 800 guineas, placed half way up the choir on the north side. In 1847 the old panelling was cleared away, when the frescoes were discovered, but immediately covered up again by twenty stalls of oak, with elaborately carved canopies of tabernacle work. These were in many cases given in memory of Old Etonians, whose names they bear on brass tablets.

The pavement, hitherto of black and white marble, dating from Godolphin's restoration, was taken up, and stone flags laid down. The east end was decorated with the Commandments and Beatitudes painted underneath the east window, in divisions made by stone mullions corresponding with those of the window above, and encaustic tiles were laid down within the altar-rails.

The restoration of the ante-chapel began in 1852. The windows were filled with stained glass ; those on the north and south in memory of Old Etonians who fell in the Crimea, their names and arms being painted on the wall beneath.

In 1882 a stone organ screen was placed under the western arch, from the design of Street, as a memorial to Old Etonians who had fallen in the Zulu, Afghan, and Boer wars. On the top of this screen the organ found what is, let us hope, a final resting-place after all its wanderings. In 1884 it was repaired and fitted with a new case, which has since been painted with disastrous effect. The whole cost of the restoration of the chapel was very great, £5,000 being contributed by Mr. Wilder alone, who also gave fourteen of the windows. Unfortunately it was, most of it, money wasted. Of the stained glass, the decoration of the east end, the new woodwork on the roof, and even of the stalls, it is only possible to say that they would be better away. The windows, in particular, are unsurpassed in ugliness, and would entirely destroy the beauty of any less beautiful building ; for even with its modern additions the chapel is one



THE ORGAN SCREEN.

of the finest in England, rivalling those of King's, Westminster, and St. George's ; indeed, it is a question whether architecturally it does not surpass them all.

For though it lacks the size, the windows, and the wonderful vault of King's, it is better proportioned and far more impressive outside, while it is altogether bolder in detail and simpler in effect than the elaborately beautiful chapels at Windsor and Westminster.



THE ALTAR AND EAST WINDOW.

Lately the chapel has received some ornaments more worthy of its own beauty, as, for example, a replica of the famous tapestry in the chapel of Exeter College, Oxford, representing the "Adoration of the Magi," designed by Burne-Jones, executed by William Morris, and Mr. G. F. Watts's splendid picture, "Sir Galahad," which the artist wishes to be illustrated by

Chaucer's description of the "Young Squire" in the prologue to the "Canterbury Tales" (lines 79-100).

Gifts such as these are a pleasant proof that we begin to recognize, what our ancestors understood so well, that beautiful surroundings are an important part of the education of youth.

There are naturally not many tombs in the chapel. To the north-east is the tomb of Provost Murray, of the seventeenth century, and on the south the tomb of Hawtrey. A cenotaph in memory of Archdeacon Balston has lately been erected. In Lupton's chapel are the brasses of Lupton himself and of Provost Bost (see p. 31). In the ante-chapel is the brass of Richard, Lord Grey, in armour of the period of Henry VIII., and also some modern brasses in memory of Old Etonians. Over the north door is the monument of the Marquis of Wellesley, buried at Eton by his own desire. This epitaph, composed by himself, is on the tomb:

"Fortunæ rerumque vagis exercitus undis,
In gremium redeo serus, Etona, tuum.
Magna sequi, et summæ mirari culmina famæ,
Et purum antiquæ lucis adire jubar,
Auspice te didici puer, atque in limine vitæ
Ingenuas veræ laudis amare vias.
Si qua meum vitæ decursu gloria nomen
Auxerit, aut si quis nobilitavit honos,
Muneris, Alma, tui est. Altrix, da terra sepulchrum,
Supremam lacrymam da memoremque mihi."

These beautiful lines have been beautifully translated by the great Earl of Derby.



LOWER SCHOOL, BUILT IN THE XV CENTURY.

DOMESTIC BUILDINGS.

The other existing buildings at Eton bear little resemblance to the original plan of the founder. Only the hall follows that plan, and yet many of the buildings were erected during Henry's life. Messrs. Willis and Clark have come to the conclusion that the north and part of the east side of the present school yard were built between 1443 and 1448, and the hall between 1443 and 1450, that is to say, that almost the whole of the front quadrangle, except the chapel, was already erected when Henry signed the plan for placing an immense cloister on the same site. It is a minor

difficulty that the hall, already far advanced when this plan was signed, almost exactly follows the details of it. Probably the plan only incorporated an earlier design for the hall already acted upon. As an explanation of the greater difficulty we can only suppose that Henry intended to pull down that part of the school yard already built, as he did in fact pull down the first chapel, to make room for the cloister of his later and more ambitious scheme. The deposition of the king doubtless prevented the accomplishment of this, and the College was only too glad to avail itself of the buildings already erected. The present school yard measures 215 feet from east to west, and 138 feet from north to south. On the south is the chapel; on the west the upper school, erected much later; on the north the lower school, long chamber, and other rooms; on the east Lupton's tower and election chamber and hall, built about 1500-1520. The cloister to the east of the school yard is 90 feet square in its central area. Both school yard and cloister are smaller than the two quadrangles designed by Henry, of which the dimensions were to have been 32,000 square feet and 35,000 square feet respectively. Their actual dimensions are 29,670 and 8,100 square feet.

The cloister was probably begun at the first commencement of the building. It seems to have been finished about 1459-1460. The south side of the cloister consists of a building erected in the last century, containing the college library with an entrance to the hall, which lies to the south of it, in the middle.

The original south side of the cloister was removed to make way for this building. The other sides



THE CLOISTER IN 1816 (SOUTH-WEST CORNER).

(From Ackermann's "Eton College.")

have each six very obtuse arches of stone, with a buttress between each arch. These buttresses rose

originally to the parapet at the top of the building ; in the course of later alterations they have been cut short at the string course above the arches, except on the west side. The north and east sides are flanked by small towers at regular intervals. The greater part of the west side of the cloister, including the central tower facing the school yard, was built by Provost Lupton at the beginning of the sixteenth century. On the north of the cloister is the Provost's Lodge.

In 1720 the College determined to build a new library, since there was but poor accommodation for the books belonging to it. A design was prepared for an octagonal library with a dome to the east of the chapel, but was soon abandoned, and in 1728 the plan of the existing library was ratified. This building was finished in 1729. It consists of the south side of the cloisters, and, though entirely in the style of the last century, harmonizes fairly well with the other sides. The library itself is a very fine room, and contains many interesting books and portraits. In 1758 it was decided to add an upper storey to the north and east sides of the cloister, owing to the ruinous condition of the roof, and the need of greater accommodation for the Fellows. This addition was less disastrous than might have been expected. Indeed, on the east side looking over the playing fields, it is particularly successful. Inside, unfortunately, the walls of the first storey were covered with Portland cement, why it is impossible to say. The windows also of the new storey are modern with sashes, while

those below are lattice windows of four lights each, but, on the whole, the result might have been very much



THE LIBRARY.
(From Ackermann.)

worse. The cloister, in spite of all additions and alterations, remains a most picturesque building both

inside and on its eastern exterior, which, with the garden in front of it, seen from the playing fields, is one of the most beautiful fronts in England.

The hall was the only part of the college built according to Henry's final plans. It was probably finished, or very nearly finished, about 1448, when a high table was purchased to be placed in it; and the windows were glazed. The north and south sides were panelled in 1547, and the greater part of that paneling remains. The screen was painted in 1532. In 1601-2 an ornamental wainscot with a classical pediment was placed over the high table. A flight of stairs leads to the hall from the cloister; probably that now existing was built in 1690, when the hall was also repaved.

The hall was restored in 1858. It was re-roofed, more or less in the manner of the original design. A hexagonal turret, ornamented with many metal flags, took the place of the earlier plain turret astride of the roof. A large perpendicular window of six lights was inserted in the west end, with stained glass, rather better than might have been expected. The paneling was cleaned and repaired, new panelling and a gallery placed at the east end, and a rich screen with an elaborate cornice at the west. A great part of the expense was borne by the Rev. John Wilder, the late vice-provost. On the whole the restoration was fairly successful. The western screen, ornamented with the arms of different provosts, is, perhaps, a little gaudy, and does not harmonize with the bright glass above it, but the hall, with its beautiful bay window to the



THE HALL.

south and its three vast fireplaces, remains a most picturesque building.

Under the hall is the fine old kitchen, with its won-

derful machine for turning the spits on which many legs of mutton are roasted. To the west of it are the



UPPER SCHOOL.

brewery and bakehouse built in 1714, and rebuilt in 1875, after being gutted by fire.

The present upper school was built in 1690-91. The west side of the school yard had originally consisted merely of a wall about 10 feet high with a gate

in the middle. Some time about 1670 Richard Allestree, provost, erected a wing of two storeys in place of this wall, at his own expense. It was a plain building, with square windows, and a central entrance with a small gable above it. It was so badly built that in 1689 it became necessary to pull it down, and then the present upper school was built. The expense, which amounted to over £2,000, was defrayed by subscription. This building is of much the same style as that which preceded it. It is plain but dignified and well proportioned. On the inside the upper storey is supported by piers and arches, making a kind of cloister half the width of the building. The upper storey is chiefly occupied by the upper school, a fine room, most interesting for the many illustrious names carved on its panelling. The door leading from the upper school to the head master's room has the name of W. E. Gladstone on one side of it, and that of Lord Salisbury, then Lord Robert Cecil, on the other. The upper school is further ornamented by busts of famous Etonians.

The school yard up to the beginning of the last century was covered with grass intersected by gravel walks. In 1786 it was paved, and has since remained so to this day. The statue of the founder in the middle is of bronze, and was erected in 1719, being the gift of Godolphin, provost from 1695 to 1732. There is a legend that the sceptre in the founder's hand was once stolen by an eminent statesman now dead.

It is not known in what condition the playing fields

were before 1580. In 1583 they were planted with elms. Messrs. Willis and Clark conjecture that the



THE FOUNDER'S STATUE.

elms at present standing in the playing fields are chiefly those planted in 1685. In the audit book of

that year there is record of a payment to certain labourers for grubbing up old elm and ash trees in the playing fields, and for planting young elms in their place.

Although the playing fields are both beautiful and spacious, there is very little room to spare. Luckily a large field beyond the playing fields, known as



THE DRAWING AND SCIENCE SCHOOL.

“Agar’s plough,” has lately been bought by the College, chiefly to protect it from the encroachments of the jerry builder.

The new buildings in Weston’s yard were begun in 1844 and finished in 1846. They cost £14,000. They are chiefly filled with rooms of those collegers who do not live in the cubicles of Long Chamber. They were added to again in 1885-1887, when new

sick rooms, bath rooms, etc., were required for the collegers. The buildings, as a whole, are inoffensive, but do not add in any way to the beauty of the College. The new schools, the science schools, and the new Jubilee schools, are none of them remarkable architecturally. The lower chapel, lately rebuilt from designs by Sir Arthur Blomfield, is a simple building of fair design. The College has not of late years been in possession of sufficient funds to erect any elaborate or costly buildings, but with the example of some Oxford Colleges before us, it is uncertain whether this is to be regretted. Most of the new buildings are too far removed from the College itself to detract from its beauty. The new schools alone are close to it, and these, though not beautiful, might easily have been worse.



Photo.

Russell and Sons.

THE REV. EDMOND WARRE, D.D.
Head Master of Eton College.



FIREPLACE IN HALL.

CHAPTER IX

ETON AT THE PRESENT DAY

DR. WARRE has now been head master of Eton for nearly twenty years, and in that time the numbers of the school have increased by nearly 200. Whether or no this increase is good for the school, a question discussed elsewhere, it is certainly a proof of its prosperity. Neither periodical depressions of trade, nor the increasing competition of more modern foundations seem to have affected the popularity of Eton. This popularity is partly a matter of fashion, no doubt. But education is too important to depend entirely upon fashion, and there are few parents who

would send their sons to Eton merely because of its fashionable reputation, if its reputation for teaching and morals had decayed.

As a matter of fact there can be no doubt that both discipline and teaching have been improved by the wise activity of the present head master, of whom it would be an impertinence to speak with the freedom that may be used towards the great men of the past. It is enough to say that Dr. Warre understands both men and boys, that no scholar was ever less pedantic, no reformer had ever a deeper reverence for the past, and no successful man ever owed less to advertisement. Dr. Warre has made many changes, particularly at the beginning of his career, and changes in a school, whatever their character, seldom please the boys and are apt to dissatisfy the masters. Yet, in spite of this, his popularity, always great, has steadily increased with years, and it is safe to say that no head master was ever more honoured and trusted by masters and boys alike. Others, such as Thomas Arnold, who have raised a school from comparative insignificance to great eminence, have no doubt obtained a wider public fame. This opportunity was denied to Dr. Warre. He succeeded to a position already made illustrious by the labours of his predecessors. It is enough reward for his labours that his influence has been felt both widely and beneficially by many generations of schoolboys.

There are now about 1,080 boys at Eton. Of these the statutes enjoin that seventy at least must be Collegers. As a matter of fact the number of the

collegers is always seventy, except during the time which elapses before the filling of a casual vacancy. The collegers live in the college buildings, and dine and sup in the college hall. They are distinguished from the rest of the boys by the heavy gowns of broad cloth which they wear in school, in hall, and at "absence," and the surplices which they wear in chapel. The other odd thousand boys are called Oppidans, and live in the masters' houses.

Candidates for election to college must be twelve years old at least, and under fourteen years old on the 1st of June before the election, which is held in July. Until a few years ago, boys of twelve, thirteen, and fourteen, were admitted to the examination, which was made more difficult for the older boys.

The examination for college is of course competitive, and the competition is usually very severe. The subjects are :

Latin composition in prose and verse. Translations from Greek and Latin authors. Grammar (Latin and Greek), mathematics (arithmetic, algebra, and Euclid), and general paper, including questions in elementary French.

There are two mathematical papers, the easier of which sets a standard that must be passed by every competitor, while the more difficult allows the best mathematicians among the competitors to show their proficiency.

The successful candidates enter college in the following October term, or as soon after as vacancies occur, since the list is always larger than the number

of immediate vacancies to allow for any further vacancies that may occur in the year. Thus it happens that boys at the bottom of the list often fail to get into college after all, if they are too old to enter again for the examination.

A scholarship at Eton is very valuable, since the sole charges to collegers are £10 10s. a year for "tuition," and £10 paid to the school fund. His education, therefore, costs a colleger more than £100 a year less than an oppidan, and there is no difference in the treatment of the two orders. In some respects, indeed, the collegers are rather better off. The college buildings are more comfortable and airy than many houses, and the food is good and plentiful, if a little monotonous. It is certain that in the matter of games the collegers have the advantage, particularly in the football half, when two large fields are wholly given up to the college games, which therefore never present the crowded and disorderly appearance of the ordinary house game.

The relations between collegers and oppidans are as good as can be expected. The small oppidan still affects to despise the small "tug" as a class, but is usually ready to be friends with him as an individual, and to ask his help when verses or construing seem unreasonably hard. Now that all collegers are placed in the lower division of the fifth form on entering the school, they find themselves rather at a disadvantage, since the oppidans with whom they come in contact are usually much older and bigger than themselves, and it is not until they reach the higher

division of the school that they associate with oppidans of their own age and intellectual level. In the "First Hundred" the prejudices of lower boys have faded away, and the relations between collegers and oppidans become easy and friendly. But the prejudices, even of lower boys, are not very deep-rooted, and arise mainly from the instinct of the insignificant to despise everyone who differs in any respect from themselves. There is usually a fair proportion of collegers in "Pop," and it is as easy, of course, for a colleger to obtain a place in the eleven or eight as for an oppidan. No parent, in fact, need nowadays be deterred from sending his son to college by the fear that he will find himself in a position of inferiority in the school; nor, on the other hand, need he fear that his son, by associating with the sons of the rich, will learn expensive habits. College remains rigidly Spartan in its tone, and if a colleger desires to dress smartly, his young friends will usually do their best to thwart his ambition. The age of admission for oppidans is from ten to fourteen years. The entrance examination, which is not competitive, consists of easy Latin composition, prose and verse, Latin and Greek grammar and translation, elementary French, arithmetic, geography, and English history; questions are also set in elementary algebra, Euclid, and more advanced arithmetic.

The charges for oppidans are £10 10s. entrance fee, £30 a year school fee, 100 guineas a year house payment, that is to say, board, lodging, etc., 20 guineas a year private classical tuition. Boys in the Army class pay £10 10s. a year extra, and private tuition at an

extra charge may also be obtained in German, Italian, music and drawing.

There are about sixty-three masters at Eton, including the head master and the lower master (Mr. Austen Leigh), who is the head master of the lower boys.

Of these about twenty-eight are classical and sixteen mathematical. The rest teach science, modern languages, drawing, music and history. There are twenty-seven boarding houses, of which one is still under the care of Miss Evans, the last and most famous of the dames, or rather of the feminine dames, since if a boy's house master is also his tutor, he speaks of his house as "my tutor's." Otherwise he calls his house "my dame's," and his house master remains his "dame," as a reminiscence of the time when many of the houses were kept by ladies.

Miss Evans's house is the only one which contains over forty boys. Several contain forty, the majority about thirty-six, and a few a smaller number. The houses vary considerably in repute, and it is usually necessary to enter a boy some years before he goes to Eton if he is to have a chance of being admitted to one of the most famous houses.

Oppidans may also live with their parents or guardians in the town, or, by special permission of the governing body, with some other person.

Every boy in a boarding house has a separate room, though brothers are allowed to share the same room if desired. In these rooms the boys both sleep and live, each room containing a bed which folds up in the daytime. The boys dine and sup together. In some



Photo.

KEATE'S LANE AND MISS EVANS' HOUSE.

T. P.

houses they have breakfast and tea in their rooms, in others they have breakfast together.

In college the lowest fifteen boys still live in what remains of Long Chamber, now divided into cubicles, or stalls, as they are called. The rest have separate rooms to themselves, in which they also both sleep and live. The collegers dine and sup in hall. All except the sixteen highest boys have their breakfast and tea in tea rooms. In college only tea, sugar, bread, butter, etc., are provided for breakfast or tea, and the boys who require anything else have to buy it for themselves. This is also the case in some houses, in others meat, etc., is provided for breakfast.

Every house has its head, appointed by the house master, who is more or less responsible for the moral discipline of the house. The head is usually the senior boy, though in some cases he is passed over in favour of some boy with more influence and strength of character. Besides the school "Pop," of which some account has already been given, there is a college "Pop," a debating society with some share in the general management of college; while most houses have their debating societies. Entrance to these is always obtained by election, which is often exercised rather capriciously. As a rule more vigour is thrown into the private business of these societies than into the regular debates.

A word may here be said on the subject of fagging. Among the oppidans, all boys in the sixth form, first hundred, upper division, and part of the middle division of the fifth form can fag; and all lower boys are fags. In college only the sixth form and the

fifth form members of the Head's division can fag ; while all boys still in their first year are fags. This difference is made necessary by the fact that in college there are no boys in the lower school, and consequently, if the oppidan rule prevailed, there would be no fags. Further, since in college the great majority of the boys have reached a position in which, if they were oppidans, they would be able to fag, there would be an over supply of fag-masters. As it is, the number of fag-masters usually exceeds the number of fags, and the lowest among them, though able to fag a casual lower boy, have not a fag allotted to them. Consequently fagging in college is more severe than among the oppidans. It is very rare for a collegier to have more than one fag. It is common for an oppidan high up in the school to have two or three. In some cases, where there is a superabundance of lower boys in the house, the head of the house will have half-a-dozen fags. The duties of fags are the same both among the collegiers and oppidans. The fag calls his fag-master, brings him hot water, fills his bath, makes toast for his breakfast, or fetches him meat, etc., from one of the various shops up town, looks after his fire during the the day, and again makes toast for his tea. Any boy who can fag may also send a lower boy on any errand he chooses, and this is the part of fagging which is most open to criticism. In college, for instance, a fag might by bad luck be sent on a succession of errands by different boys which might, by no fault of theirs, seriously inconvenience him. As a matter of fact, the burdens imposed even by this chance fagging are

usually very light, and the regular fagging which a fag does for his fag-master is lighter still, and is never, so far as the writer's experience goes, complained of by the fag. To the outsider, it is true, there must appear to be no particular reason why one boy should perform for another offices which seem the duty of a servant, or which he might very well do for himself, and if no positive advantage resulted from fagging, except the saving to the fag-master of a certain amount of trouble, there would be very little to be said for it. As a matter of fact the institution of fagging is of great value, since it creates a connection between the lowest and highest boys, which would not otherwise exist. People who know nothing about school life sometimes contend that this connection is simply an encouragement of legalized bullying. In reality it is the greatest hindrance to bullying possible. The writer only heard in the course of five years spent at Eton of one case in which a fag was bullied by his fag-master. In that case the greatest indignation was aroused throughout the school, and the fag-master was punished by the Eton Society. The real if rather erratic public conscience of the school is against a fag-master bullying his fag, and that is enough to prevent his doing so. Such bullying as occurs is generally carried on by overgrown backward boys towards smaller boys in the same part of the school as themselves. The best protection which the small boy has against this kind of bullying rests in his fag-master, who is usually quick to resent and punish it when he hears of it. No doubt the upper boys would do their best to prevent such bullying in

any case, but they would not have such an active interest in the prevention of it if they did not feel a sense of property in the boy bullied, nor would they be so likely to discover it if they were not constantly brought in contact with him. A good-natured fag-master will do many kind offices for his fag, and the connection has often been the foundation of lasting friendships.

Discipline in college is preserved by the sixth form, and in the houses by the head of each house. In college the sixth form have the power of setting lines for minor offences. In the past they imposed a Latin epigram on the offender, and efforts have from time to time been made to revive the custom. The cane is used both in college and among the oppidans for more serious offences. Any fag-master may cane his fag for neglect of duty, but very seldom does so.

It may be mentioned here that in this matter of punishment the sixth form have powers beyond the assistant masters. No master except the head and the lower master have the right of corporal punishment, which is performed with a birch, the head master flogging the upper school and the lower master the lower. The operation is performed with some ceremony. The boy is first of all "complained of" by his division master or some other master. The college sixth form præpostor¹ is then sent by the head master to the particular division in which the offender happens to be working at the time, with the ominous

¹ The functions, etc., of the modern præpostor are explained below.

message that he is "to stay," a formula which implies that he has been complained of and must explain matters to the head master after school. He then has a short interview with the head master in his private room in the presence of the two præpostors, and immediately afterwards, in the absence of any satisfactory excuse, another short, and painful, one upstairs, still in the presence of the two præpostors, one of whom has, in the mean time, fagged two lower boys to "hold down." The offender having unbreeched himself, kneels down on the block, while the lower boys stand on each side of him, ready to restrain him if he struggles. No doubt they were useful in the time of Udall, but nowadays their office is rather a sinecure. The instrument used is a birch, and the punishment is sharp but transitory in its effects. Some people, seldom Etonians, and never schoolboys, are keenly conscious of the degradation it entails. It has been said, indeed, that a picture of the operation in one of the illustrated papers would put an end to the practice, but many useful and necessary things are done which no one would wish to illustrate. The prejudice against flogging, at any rate as practised at Eton, is in fact absurd. The ordinary boy finds it disagreeable, as he is intended to find it, but not degrading. In the case of abnormal boys masters may be trusted to decide whether it is advisable or not.

No account of a school would be complete without some details of the etiquette, customs, and slang prevalent among the boys. Dress at Eton is partly

a matter of school rules, and partly of boy's etiquette. For instance, every boy must wear the familiar Eton jacket and collar, or a tail coat, according to his size, together with a top hat, in chapel, in school, at absence, or "up town," that is to say, in the streets of Eton and Windsor, beyond Barnes bridge. A boy may make



THE HEAD MASTER'S ROOM.

the change to "tails" when he chooses. All boys in jackets wear black ties, and all in tail coats white evening ties. In the country or the playing fields boys are allowed to wear change coats, that is to say, short coats of ordinary stuff, and caps or straw hats, according to the time of year. This dress is known as "half change." It is not etiquette among the boys to go into the country, or into the playing fields,

except during a "school match," in top hats, etc. "Full change" is worn when any game is played, and consists in the summer of flannel shirts and trousers, "change coats," and canvas caps, or straw hats; in the winter of knickerbockers, change coats, flannel caps, and woollen mufflers. Only boys in the eight or eleven may wear white flannel trousers. The rest wear gray. Boys in the boats wear white ducks in the summer term. The common or "scug" cap (the term will be explained later), that is to say, the cap worn by boys without "colours," is either of black and blue, or black and violet stripes, according to choice. In the summer boys without colours wear canvas caps, of which many varieties are allowed. There is a rather uncertain etiquette that only boys who have passed in swimming shall wear straw hats. The rules as to "colours" are too elaborate to be given in full. "Colours" of course mean caps given for excellence in cricket, rowing, football, etc. The school colours are the eleven, eight, twenty-two (or second eleven, cricket), school field (football), mixed, *i.e.*, school wall (football), and shooting eight. There are also four inferior cricket colours given, called upper club, middle club, lower club, and "sixpenny." The last is the lower boy eleven colour, and may only be worn so long as the possessor of it remains a lower boy.

Besides the eight every "wet-bob" in "the boats" may wear the colour of his boat. The boats are ten in number, three upper and seven lower. The upper boats have distinctive colours. Members of

the lower boats all wear the same colours. There are three College colours, "wall," "field," and cricket. There are no house colours for cricket, but most of the houses have their football colours, though only the best members of the house elevens are allowed to wear them. The colours are worn not only in caps, but in shirts, in scarves, knitted and often of enormous size, in stockings, and in the case of school colours, in "blazers." It is usually the ambition of the possessor of many colours to display as many of them as possible on his person when he is in full change. Thus he will wear cap, shirt, stockings, blazer, and scarf, all of different colours. He also hangs up the caps in a prominent position in his room, so that any visitor may see at a glance how eminent a person he is. Sometimes he wears his most valued colour in the form of mittens in chapel.

There are a few minor points of etiquette in dress which may amuse. At one time only "swells" wore stick-up collars. But their use has now become rather more general. It is "side" for lower boys to turn their trousers up, or to wear great coats, until their elders and betters choose to wear them. Only a very distinguished person indeed may roll his umbrella up; he of course does so invariably, and keeps it rolled up even in the rain. It is a grave offence for anyone to wear an Eton jacket of shining broad cloth, and no Etonian ever buttons the bottom button of his waistcoat.

There are not many slang terms in common use at Eton, which differs in this respect from Winchester

with its elaborate language of "notions," and what slang terms there are are not particularly interesting. This is rather to be regretted, since there can be little doubt that in the past Eton used many curious words in common with Winchester, and if these had survived it would be interesting to compare the variations in usage between the two schools. One surviving instance may be given. At Winchester to "furk" (Latin *furca*, a fork) means to expel. At Eton the word "furk" is used only in connection with the wall game, and means to extract the ball out of the "bully" by a particular process. The player who performs this process is called the *furker*. There are other technical terms connected with football which will be mentioned in the description of football at Eton. Many uses of words peculiar to Eton are based on the "*Lucus a non lucendo*" principle; for example, call over is termed "absence," because every one has to be present, and when for any reason there is no "absence," there is said to be a "call." Terms are called "halves," and so there are three halves in the year. This of course is a survival from the old division of the year.

The most common slang term at Eton is the word "scug"; this is primarily a term of abuse. It does not mean "cad," like "lout" at Rugby, or "chaw" at Harrow, though it is sometimes used in almost the same sense. It has various elusive meanings, ranging from a person of no account to one of dirty appearance, unpleasant habits, and undignified behaviour. In some of its uses it resembles the American word

"ornery." "Grub" at Eton is called "sock," and confectioner's shops are "sock shops." To work hard is to "sap" (Lat. sapio, to be wise?), and a "sap" is too often a term of abuse. To kick behind is to "fit," and to kick on the shins is to "slick." "Cheek" is "nerve." When a boy is caned by his fag-master or any other boy in authority he is "worked off"; but this is perhaps a use peculiar to college. The word "pop" has been explained in the account of the institution.

The origin of the terms "wet-bobs" and "dry-bobs" is, I believe, unknown. That of the word "tug" is disputed. A tug is the oppidan word for a collegier, and is said to be derived from the Latin "gens togata," the "gowned race," but the word would hardly have become so popular if it had had no more abusive meaning than that. A more probable explanation is that the word originally meant a certain waste part of the mutton on which the collegier was supposed to live. This use may be compared with the terms "gag" and "gag eater," which, according to Charles Lamb, had much the same meaning at Christ's Hospital. Abbreviations are usually unfashionable at Eton, and are considered the mark of a boy fresh from a private school. Thus, no one may say "ma" or "mi" for major or minor. An elder brother speaks of his younger brother as his "minor," and a younger of his elder as his "major."



THE JUBILEE BUILDINGS.

CHAPTER X

SCHOOL WORK

BEFORE giving a detailed account of the system of teaching at Eton, it will be as well to explain its most distinctive feature, the tutorial system, which is almost peculiar to Eton, and to say something of its advantages and disadvantages.

At most public schools a boy is subject in school to his form master and out of school to his house master. He is disciplined by one, and taught by the other. His house master probably remains the same during his whole stay at school, but his form master, particularly if his progress up the school is rapid, changes continually, perhaps even every term. Thus, though

his house master may form some idea of his moral development, no master has long enough experience of him to know much of his intellectual progress, to note, for example, what are his weak and what his strong points, or to say whether he is becoming more idle or more industrious in the course of his career. It is, of course, extremely important to know these things, especially in the case of a boy whose cleverness may enable him to conceal his idleness from a master with only a term's experience of him, or in the case of a boy whose stupidity or slowness may for a time be mistaken for indifference. It is the object of the Eton tutorial system to ensure that every boy, during his whole career at the school, shall be under the care and observation of one particular master, who is called his tutor. Every boy, of course, passes up from division to division and from master to master, as at other public schools, but all the while his tutor has concurrent jurisdiction with his division master ; and the wise division master who is puzzled by the conduct or peculiarities of some particular boy in his division will go to his tutor for advice and information.

A boy's tutor is chosen for him when he enters the school. If his house master is a classical master, he is generally his tutor also ; otherwise, one of the younger classical masters who has not yet obtained a house is usually chosen for him. No boy ever changes his tutor except for some special and unavoidable reason.

The first duty of a tutor is to superintend the work which his pupils do for their form masters. This is

the more necessary at Eton since a great part of such work is done out of school. This superintendence is gradually relaxed as the boy rises in the school, but in the lower divisions it is very thorough.

Every tutor has a pupil-room, distinct from the ordinary school rooms of the form masters. To be in school and in pupil-room are two different things. There are, of course, fixed school hours, but the hours of pupil-room depend for each individual boy on the tutor's discretion. In the pupil-room lower boys spend a large part of the time during which they are not employed in school, preparing under the tutor's eyes and with his assistance the various lessons and exercises set them by their division masters. Here, also, all boys below the first hundred have to construe to their tutor the classical books they are reading in school, or such part of them as are expressly ordered to be so construed, which varies in amount according to the position of the boy in the school. A tutor inflicts extra pupil-room on any boys who seem to him to be falling into idle habits, or who are continually getting into trouble with their division masters; during this extra pupil-room he exercises a more thorough supervision over the work of such boys than over that of their more industrious or able companions.

It is also the duty of the tutor to look over the copies of Latin verses which nearly all boys except those in the Army class have to produce every week for their division masters.

It is the routine for the tutor to correct the errors of these, and for the boy to copy out the verses, in-

corporating his tutor's corrections, and then to show up both the verses, as he did them with all their original errors, and the fair copy to his division master.

At the bottom of the original copy the tutor gives his opinion of the performance, usually in a stereotyped form, and adds his initials to show that it has been passed by him. No copy of verses will be accepted by the division master without the tutor's initials at the bottom of them.

Among these stereotyped forms the highest praise is conveyed in the initials "N. N.," which mean that the verses are so correct that the producer of them "need not" make a fair copy. The faintest stereotyped form of commendation is the letter "f," or fair. In the case of verses that are altogether undeserving the tutor must fall back upon his own powers of language to express his disapproval. In desperate cases the verses are "torn over," and must be then done all over again.

Up to the middle division of the fifth form verses are usually done in pupil-room. Boys in the upper division and above do them usually when and where they like, provided they are shown up to the tutor at the appointed time. The verses are set by the form master about the middle of the week, and must usually be completed a week later. Usually the form master sets an English poem to be turned into hexameters, lyrics, or elegiacs. Sometimes the metre is left to the choice of the boys, and sometimes the master gives merely a theme, in the old fashion, on which the boys

must write wholly original verses. The ancient custom of giving a subject for an epigram, though still existing at Harrow, no longer obtains at Eton.

Besides the hours of pupil-room given to the superintendence of school work, the tutor holds in the pupil-room two schools a week at least, each of an hour in duration, which are known as "private." One of these is on Sunday, and is usually occupied by the reading of suitable books. It is common at Sunday private for the tutor and his pupils in turn to read Milton's "Paradise Lost" or "Regained." At week day private the old pupils usually construe some Greek or Latin author not included in the ordinary routine of school work, as, for example, Quintilian or Martial. Most tutors for purposes of private divide their pupils into two lots, the younger boys, of course, construing some easier author.

When the tutor is not a house master, he has in several respects concurrent jurisdiction with the house master of his pupils. Thus both must sign a leave form before a boy can go for long or short leave. Long leave, it may be here explained, lasts from Saturday to Monday, the boy leaving after the last school on Saturday morning and returning in time for the second school on Monday morning. Short leave only lasts for a day, the boy returning on the evening of the day on which he goes away. One "short leave" and one "long leave" are allowed in the course of the half.

Both tutor and house master must also sign the yellow ticket which a division master gives to a boy

in his division whom he finds it necessary to punish. On the yellow ticket he states the offence and the punishment, and the yellow ticket, after being signed by the tutor, must be shown up with the punishment or "pœna" completed to the division master. Three yellow tickets in one week is considered an excessive number for one boy, and involves an interview, probably painful, with the head master. The object of the yellow ticket system is, of course, to enable the tutor to know of necessity if his pupil is getting into any serious trouble with his division master. Every term the tutor writes a full report of his pupil's progress and general character, which he sends to the parents, together with the shorter reports of the classical and mathematical master to whom the boy has been up. When the time comes for a boy to leave, he must take to the head master letters from his tutor and house master requesting the head master to take leave of him, without which he cannot receive his leaving book and his "bene discessit."

The leaving book is a large bound copy of Gray's poems, with illustrations. It is given to every boy who is not expelled or does not leave "under a cloud."

Besides all these formal duties, a wise and efficient tutor will do much for his pupils in an indirect and informal way. He can win their confidence in a manner which is impossible to the division master who only sees them in school in a crowd of other boys; he may even, on occasion, intercede for them with a division master who seems to him to bear too

hard upon their weaknesses. Many boys, indeed, regard their tutors as their natural defence against the severities of a strange master who does not understand them ; and a sympathetic tutor may sometimes be too apt to take his pupil's part, to refuse to believe in his shortcomings, since the same boy who is often content to be idle under the rule of a division master for whom he cares nothing, will work well enough for a tutor of whom he is fond.

The advantages of the tutorial system must, of course, depend largely upon the individual tutor. Where he is a good one, the advantages are immense. He knows his boys, and he knows what to expect and to exact of them. He gives some pliability to the necessarily rigid system of school work. He encourages one pupil's bent for literature and another's for science. Many a boy has owed his first interest in poetry, his first discovery that the "Odyssey," for instance, was not written merely to be construed, to the contagious enthusiasm and encouragement of his tutor. Such a man as the late William Cory Johnson, the author of "Ionica," was able to inspire generations of such fortunate pupils as came under his care with an understanding of the nobler elements of life and of literature, such as no master, however gifted, could inspire in any boy who was not constantly under the influence of his personality.

The disadvantages of the tutorial system affect the masters rather than the boys. A boy may have to construe his lesson both to his tutor and his division master, but the chances are he will not ; most of

the work he does with his tutor is clear profit to him. But for the masters the system means a great increase of work, since each classical master has not only to hear the lessons of his division, but also of his pupils. Owing to this fact the work of a master at Eton is, perhaps, harder than at any other public school.

We will now pass to the actual work done in school. Eton is divided first of all into five forms : the Sixth, Fifth, Remove, Fourth, and Third. Of these the Fifth Form is divided into "First Hundred," Upper, Middle, and Lower Divisions, and the Fourth Form into Upper, Middle, and Lower Fourth Form.

These main sections of the school are, of course, far too large to be manageable for teaching purposes, and are therefore split up into thirty-one divisions, containing each about thirty-five boys, and each under its appointed division master.

The head master's division, taught by the head master himself and by one of the younger masters specially appointed for that purpose, consists of the Sixth Form, twenty boys in all, ten collegers, and ten oppidans, and of the six highest collegers and the six highest oppidans in the First Hundred. The six collegers in the head's division, but not yet in Sixth Form, are called "Liberty," since they have most of the privileges, but not the powers of the Sixth Form. Admission to the Sixth Form is obtained partly by priority and partly by excellence of work. The work in the head master's division is practically the same as in the rest of First Hundred.

The First Hundred and the Upper division of the

Fifth Form contain three divisions each ; the Middle and Lower divisions four divisions each. The Remove contains six divisions, the Fourth Form five, and the Third one; the four remaining divisions containing the Army Class. The work only varies with the main divisions of the school. Thus all boys in the Remove do the same work. For purposes of mathematical and science teaching the boys are not taught in the same groups as in classics, although the work in these branches also follows the main divisions of the school. Thus A may be in the same division with C, D, and E for classics, but with F, G, and H for mathematics, and I, K, and L for science, but all of them must be members of the same part of the school, Remove, Lower Division of the Fifth Form, or First Hundred, as the case may be. No boy can pass from one of the main divisions of the school to another, as, for example, from the Lower division of the Fifth Form to the Middle, without passing an examination called "Trials," which takes place at the end of the half, and consists chiefly of such subjects as have been taught during the half."

The rules as to superannuation are as follows :

"No Oppidan shall remain in the school who has not been admitted to the Fourth Form before the completion of his fourteenth year, or to the Remove before the completion of his fifteenth year, or to the Fifth Form before the completion of his sixteenth year, or to the upper division of the Fifth Form before the completion of his eighteenth year, except for special reasons to be sanctioned by the head master."

French is taught, partly by special French masters, partly by the classical division masters. German may be learnt instead of Greek, but is not a necessary part of the school teaching.

The Army Class consists of four divisions, the first starting with "First Hundred," the second with the upper division of the Fifth Form, and the third and fourth with the middle and lower divisions. No boy can enter the Army Class until he has reached the Fifth Form. The work in the Army Class is of course less classical than that in the rest of the school, only five hours a week being devoted to Latin, while German or science may be learnt instead of Greek. The work of the Army Class is entirely separate from that of the rest of the school, and is under the general superintendence of Mr. Somerville. The Army Class is also of necessity kept separate from the rest of the school in trials or the examinations, and the relative seniority of boys in the Army Class to that of other boys in the same houses with them is determined by the house masters. Boys are admitted to the Army Class on the application of their classical tutors, and conditionally on their having reached a certain standard in mathematics and generally in other subjects in the last trials examination. Boys in the Army Class who fail in two trials consecutively are not allowed to remain in it. An additional charge of £3 10s. a half is now made for every boy in the Army Class. As a preparation for the Army Class, all boys on the Remove may at their parent's request be placed in special mathematical classes.

There is also a small Navy Class attached to the fourth division of the Army Class.

The Army Class has of late years been very successful—for instance, in 1898, seventeen boys got into Sandhurst direct from Eton, and seven into Woolwich. It must be remembered that in competing for these examinations, all public schools are at a great disadvantage compared to crammers, since it is not the sole object of any well-conducted public school to prepare boys for examinations.

The "First Hundred" have fifteen classical schools and three mathematical in the week, six hours being devoted to "extras," which include a variety of subjects, such as Juvenal, Hesiod, and Plato, among the classics, and also mathematics, history (English and French), German, physics, chemistry, physiology, etc. Boys may take their choice among these subjects. A time table for the "First Hundred" for the week, taken from the Eton Calendar, is here given. Also a like table for the highest division of the Army Class, which will give some idea of the variation in the teaching of the two lots of boys.

Some idea of the general classical work of the school may also be obtained from the list on p. 197, taken from a printed form of "lessons for the week," issued every week at Eton. It will be noted that the smallness of the "First Hundred" list is owing to the fact that extras are not included.

A.—FIRST HUNDRED. DIVISIONS I., II., III., IV.

<i>Day of the Week.</i>	7.30.	9.45.	11.15.	2.45.	5.
MONDAY	Greek Testament.	10. Classical. Chemistry. Advanced Math.	Construing.	Construing. or Repetition.	Math. Extra Work.
TUESDAY	Repetition or Const.	Classical. French. Mathematics. Science.	Construing.		
WEDNESDAY.	Latin Prose. Greek Comp. shown up.	Classical. German.	Construing.	Construing or Repetition.	Math. Extra Work.
THURSDAY ...	Repetition or Const.	Classical. French. Mathematics. Science.	Construing.		
FRIDAY	History or Const. Verses shown up.	Classical. German. Chemistry. Advanced Math.	Math. Extra Work.	Construing or History.	Construing.
SATURDAY ...	Critical Paper. Greek Comp. Latin Prose.	Classical. German.	Construing.		

15 Classical hours. 3 Mathematical. 6 Extras. **9.45—10.45.** Extra Studies.

ARMY CLASS. I.

<i>Day of the Week.</i>	7.30.	9.45.	11.15.	2.45.	5.
MONDAY	Math.	Math.	Greek. German. Science.	French.	Latin.
TUESDAY	Math.	Latin.	History. Science.		
WEDNESDAY.	Greek. German. Science.	Latin.	Latin.	2.45—4.15. Math.	History. Science.
THURSDAY ...	History. Science.	Greek. German. Science.	Math.		
FRIDAY	French.	Math.	Latin.	French.	Greek. German. Science.
SATURDAY ...	Geography.	Math.	Greek. German. Science.		

Extra Classes.—Mathematics, Thursday 12.15 to 2. German, Tuesday 12. Drawing

LESSONS FOR THE WEEK.

FIRST HUNDRED.

LXX. GENESIS XII. *ff.* HERODOTUS, Bk. II. PLAUTUS, CAPTIVI. HORACE, I. EP. V. VI.

UPPER FIFTH.

ACTS, XIII. 20. HORACE, ODES I., 2, 41 to end, and 4. SOPHOCLES, AJAX, I., II., III. SCRIPTORES ROMANI, I. (page 90, line 27), II., III. POETAE GRAECI, page 83, line 56.

MIDDLE FIFTH.

ST. JOHN. SELECTA. HERODOTUS, I., II., III. VIRGIL, I., II. HORACE. HOMER.

LOWER FIFTH.

ST. LUKE. OVID. HERODOTUS, I. (Cooke), II., III. HORACE, ODES. SELECTA.

REMOVE.

ST. MARK. HORACE. VIRGIL, I. (begin Aen. I. 254, Olli), II. XENOPHON, I., II., III.

FOURTH FORM.

ST. MATTHEW (for Monday, November 13). SERTUM, I., II. (for Monday, November 13). OVID, I., II. BENNETT.

A word may here be said as to the system of "Præpostors." The "Præpostor" in Malim's time, as we learn from his "Consuetudinarium," was only another word for monitor. Now, however, the term has an entirely different meaning. Every division has its præpostor, and each oppidan in a division takes the office in turn according to his school order, and holds it from Saturday to the following Wednesday.

It is the duty of a præpostor to see that every boy in his division is in school or chapel at the proper time, and if not, to discover the reason why. He has a book for the purpose, into which he marks all boys present, and makes a note of those absent. The book must be signed by his division master, and then taken to the school office. When boys are absent from school, it is the præpostor's duty to visit the houses of such boys, and obtain a written signed excuse from the house master or dame, if such excuse is forthcoming. They also attend at absence, and make a note of such boys as do not answer to their names.

In the sixth form there are also two school præpostors, a colleger and an oppidan, who hold office for a week. It is their duty to carry round messages for the head master to different divisions, to attend the head master when he interviews different boys, and to be present at all floggings.

In the rules of the school "Præpostors are reminded that they occupy a position of trust, and that any negligence or want of fidelity in that position constitutes a grave offence."

There is a legend that the late William Ewart Gladstone was once guilty of negligence in the discharge of his duties as a præpostor, and being accused of the same, took occasion to point out that the præpostorship, if a position of trust, was one which had been thrust upon him and not voluntarily assumed. The plea is said to have been successful, but erring præpostors are not advised to urge it before the present head master.

The prizes given at Eton are very numerous, and a boy who is both clever and industrious may accumulate quite a small library of bound books by the time he leaves the school. Prizes are given both by division masters to any boy or boys they consider to have deserved them, and by tutors to any pupil whose work, especially his verses and general conduct, has been meritorious during the half. In addition to this there are prizes for holiday tasks, and every boy who is "sent up for good," or obtains distinction in trials three times, is given a prize by the head master. A boy is "sent up for good" by his division master for the excellence of his work during the half. Usually two or three will be sent up for good out of each division every term. Boys are also sent up for good for mathematics and science. It is therefore possible for a boy to obtain a large number of prizes in this way alone. Besides this, prizes are given consisting of ten or five pounds' worth of books for science (a prize each for chemistry, geology, and biology respectively), for history, for an English essay, for Greek iambics and Latin verse, for English verse, for a Latin essay, for the study of Shakespeare and other subjects. The Prince Consort's prizes consist of a yearly sum of £50, "to be disposed of by the provost and head master according to the judgment of competent examiners in prizes for the promotion of the study of modern languages." In addition to these are the Newcastle scholarship, with the Wilder Divinity prize competed for in the same examination, and the Tomline prize for mathematics. The following is a list of scholarships and prizes for each school-time :

LENT.

Holiday Task.
Greek Iambic Prizes.
Newcastle Scholarship.
Wilder Divinity Prize.
Brinckman Divinity Prizes (Lower Boys).

SUMMER.

Holiday Task.
Jelf Original Verse.
Hervey English Verse.
Richards Latin Essay.
Natural Science.
Tomline Mathematical Scholarship.
Strafford Shakespeare Medal.
Brinckman Divinity Prizes (Lower Boys).
History Prize.
Certificate Examination.
College Prizes.
Assistant Masters' Mathematical Senior (B & C) and Junior (D & E) Prizes.
Assistant Masters' Modern Languages Prizes—two French for Lower Boys, two German for Fifth Form. Best in Trials.
Assistant Masters' Science Prizes—Fifth Form and Remove.

MICHAELMAS.

Jelf (Latin Verse, Translation from English).
Latin Prose.
Richards English Essay.
Prince Consort's Foreign Language.
Brinckman Divinity Prizes (Lower Boys).

For purposes of Trials, the examinations which take place at the end of every half, and in which boys compete for the places they will occupy in the next half, the school is divided into six blocks, exclusive of the Army Class, namely, the First Hundred, the Upper

Division, Middle Division, and Lower Division of the Fifth Form respectively, the Remove, and the Fourth Form. A boy can only rise from one block to another by passing in Latin prose, grammar, mathematics severally, as well as in the general totals. The results in the Fifth Form are classified as follows, Distinction, Class, Pass, and Failure ; in the Remove as First and Second Class, Pass, and Failure. Boys who fail in mathematics cannot obtain a class. Those who fail only in mathematics are allowed a pass-paper on the first day of the following half. Boys who have failed three times consecutively in trials can only remain in the school by special leave of the head master. Boys who wish to obtain distinction in Fifth Form trials must bring up two extra books read by them privately. The same rule applies to boys who wish to obtain distinction in mathematical trials. The full marks in Fifth Form trials are 1,400. No boy can obtain distinction without getting 950 marks, or a class without getting 600 marks. Any boy who does not obtain 280 marks fails.

The rules as to bounds, etc., at Eton are very simple.

The High Street of Eton and the main street of Windsor leading to the Castle and the Park are in bounds. All other streets in Eton and Windsor, except Brocas Lane at such times as boating is allowed, are out of bounds.

Boys may go into no private house nor accept any invitation nor enter any hotel or theatre without leave from their house tutor.

Boys who are excused from school on account of

illness are said to "stay out." Unless they are excused lessons they must translate their construing lessons and do all other writing work that is due from them. Boys with only some trifling ailment remain either in their rooms or in the sick room attached to their respective houses. Boys suffering from serious or infectious diseases are removed to the Sanatorium if possible.

MUSIC AND "SPEECHES."

Music at Eton was for a long time much neglected. The school choir also performed at St. George's Chapel, Windsor, and was often seen to hurry away after the performance of an anthem to be in time for their other duties. Under Sir Joseph Barnby, the late precentor, the state of things was much improved. The school obtained its own paid choir, and to this was added an auxiliary choir of masters and boys, as a result of which all the boys join much more heartily in the services than they used to do.

The Public Schools Commission reflected on the fact that no music was at that time taught at Eton; and in 1864 John Foster, a member of the choir of Westminster Abbey, was engaged to give lessons to any boys who might wish for them.

In 1870 a permanent music master was appointed. The office of precentor at Eton is now perhaps the most valuable open to any musician in England, and is held by Dr. Charles Harford Lloyd, formerly precentor at Christ Church, Oxford, who has proved

a worthy successor to Sir Joseph Barnby. The school has an orchestral society, to which the subscription is £1 11s. 6d. a half, and a Sunday society for the practice of music on that day. Private pupils are taught music at a charge of £5 5s. a half. It may be mentioned in this connection that Sir Hubert Parry is an Old Etonian.

The boy's library is open to all boys in the sixth and fifth forms, and is managed by a committee of which the three first collegers and the three first oppidans are members. Books may be taken out to the number of eight at a time.

"Speeches" are a very old institution, and many boys afterwards famous have taken part in them. Lord Wellesley on one occasion is said to have reduced George III. to tears by his reading of Strafford's last speech. "Speeches" occur at stated intervals in the Upper School. They consist of famous passages from classical and modern authors, recited by members of the sixth form, who wear dress coats and waistcoats, knee breeches, silk stockings, and pumps with buckles, for the occasion. The performers are coached by the head master, who takes a keen delight in the work. Ordinary "speeches" are more or less rehearsals for the great performance, which takes place on the morning of the 4th of June, in the presence of an audience consisting of parents and other visitors. This audience has lately grown too large to be accommodated in the Upper School, and there is a general desire for a Speech hall, which would, of course, be useful for many other purposes.

THE ETON MISSION.

A word must be said about the Eton Mission, which was started in 1880 under the Rev. W. M. Carter, who has since become Bishop of New Zealand. The Mission works in Hackney Wick, a poor and much neglected neighbourhood to the north-east of London. The Mission has built a church, started working-men's, boys' and girls' clubs, Sunday schools, and athletic clubs of different kinds, and at last has finished an Eton House to be run on the same lines, and it is to be hoped with the same success, as the Oxford House at Bethnal Green. The boys are ready enough to give money in support of the Mission, but it has always been the object of the workers to induce them to take a deeper interest in it than the mere giving of money implies. With this object frequent meetings are held, at which accounts of the Mission work are given, and football teams of Etonians are occasionally taken down to Bethnal Green to play against the Mission football club. The Mission should be not only of benefit to the poor at Hackney Wick, but a valuable means of education for the rich at Eton, teaching boys to think occasionally of those for whom the struggle for life is a more important matter even than football or cricket. It is difficult for boys to understand that this can be so, but the Mission is certainly the best means that can be devised for arousing them out of their natural indifference.





Photo.

THE FOURTH OF JUNE.

Hills and Saunders.



ATHENS.

CHAPTER XI

ATHLETICS

ROWING.

ROWING is and has been for a hundred years at least the chief among Etonian pastimes. At the beginning of the century the famous ten oar, the *Monarch*, was already in existence, and was stroked, as now, by the captain of the boats. The eight seems to have come into existence about 1820. The first race against Westminster was rowed and won by Eton in 1829. Westminster beat Eton for the first time in 1837, and also in 1842, 1845, and 1846. Up to that date, therefore, the honours were very evenly divided between the two schools. The race was revived again in 1860, and Eton won for four years running, after which it was discontinued. Since that time the Eton eight unfor-

tunately has had no rival among those of other schools. Indeed, its only chance of meeting them is in the Ladies' Plate at Henley, for which the only other school that competes is Radley. It is to be wished that the persistent and most praiseworthy efforts of that school might once at least succeed in carrying off the prize for which it has so long competed. It is only natural, however, that the Radley eight, however good its quality and however well trained, should have little chance against the eight of a school which has about four times as many boys to choose from. As a result of this want of competition the great mass of boys are naturally not so much interested in the performances of the eight as of the eleven, since their rivals at cricket are dangerous and often successful. But though the school takes infinitely more pride in a victory at Lord's than in a victory at Henley, and though the exploits of the eleven are accomplished under the eyes of their school-fellows, and the glory of a large score rests directly on the individual compiler of it, yet the captain of the boats is a greater person than the most brilliant member of the eleven, and a far greater person than the captain of the school. He is the *ex officio* head of the school athletics and has the management of the sports, why, it is difficult to say; and whatever his future eminence may be, he will probably never be so much admired or envied, or taste so fully of the sweets of power as in the last year of his school-time.

Every boy so soon as he has passed in swimming may become a "wet-bob." Until then he is not allowed to enter a boat. "Passings" are held frequently in



Photo.

PASSING IN SWIMMING AT CUCKOO WEIR.

Hills and Saunders.

the summer at "Cuckoo Weir" and "Athens," two of the school bathing-places. One or two masters selected for the purpose by the master in charge of the boating sit on the highest part of the bank at Cuckoo Weir and on the "Acropolis" at Athens, and the candidates take headers, one by one, as their names are called out, from the punt at Cuckoo Weir and from the steps at Athens. Each boy has not only to swim but to tread water, float, swim on his back, and perform such other exercises as the master may think necessary to test his capacity. The test is a searching one, and a boy must not only be able to swim with ease, but to swim in the approved Eton style, before he can pass. After he has passed, the boy who determines to become a wet-bob pays his boating subscription and learns the rudiments of oarsmanship in such boats as he can obtain in the general scramble for them. If he learns little else in this way, he will probably acquire that watermanship, for which Etonians have always been famous, in resisting the efforts of his young friends to swamp him, and in keeping his boat right side up in the crush at Boveney Lock that always occurs on summer days when everyone is hurrying back to be in time for absence.

If he takes to rowing seriously he can obtain regular coaching from experienced oars, selected by the captain of the boats, by entering for the "Novice Eights," trial crews selected from among the most promising of the younger wet-bobs, which after being trained and coached finally compete in a race. To be chosen for the Novice Eights is the first step towards getting into the "Boats."

The "Boats" are ten in number, and are named, respectively, Monarch (ten oar), Victory, Prince of Wales, Britannia, Dreadnaught, Thetis, Hibernia, St. George, Alexandra, and Defiance. The first three are upper boats, and the rest lower boats. Any boy in the boats is entitled to wear a colour. Those for the upper boats are different; those for the lower are now all the same, though the uniforms on the 4th of June are still different for each boat.

Each boat has a captain who selects his own boat-crew. The captain of the boats is always captain and stroke of the Monarch; the second captain, an only less august person, is captain and stroke of the Victory; the captains of the other boats follow next in the order of precedence, and after them comes number nine of the Monarch. The rest of the crew of the Monarch is made up of older boys, who are chosen rather for long service than for conspicuous excellence in oarsmanship. The best oarsmen are chosen for the crew of the Victory, followed by the crew of the Prince of Wales, and of the other boats in their order.

Boating begins on the 1st of March, St. David's day, with a procession of boats, the crews wearing their colours, but not the uniform of the 4th of June. Before that date all the crews of the boats are made up, except that of the Alexandra, which does not come in existence until the 4th of June, when further changes in the crews are sometimes made.

The Fourth of June is, of course, the great day in the year for wet-bobs. It is the date of the birthday of George III., which was always observed as a festival

during the reign of that king, who took a great interest in the school, and has continued to be so observed ever since. On that day all the boats row up in procession to Surly after six o'clock absence. There the crews have supper on the shore, and then row back again. In the early part of the century the crews seem to have dressed themselves more or less according to individual taste. Now each crew wears its own fixed uniform: a straw hat decorated with flowers or other ornaments, a striped shirt, a short jacket of blue broadcloth, broadcloth trousers in the upper boats, white ducks in the lower, silk stockings, and pumps with brass buckles. The colours of the shirts, hat ribands, etc., vary with each boat. The steerers wear the uniform of naval officers of a rank varying with the rank of their respective boats; they also carry bouquets of flowers given to them by their boat captains. The crews now return through Romney Lock, and as they return a display of fireworks takes place on Romney Island, the crews all saluting with their oars as they pass the island.

Formerly the fireworks were let off on Piper's Eyot just above Windsor Bridge, and the procession finished there, but the crowd of sightseers became large and troublesome, and the fireworks were removed to Romney Island, where they can be seen from Fellow's Eyot, to which spectators are admitted by ticket.

The different boats do not race against each other, though in the past they engaged in bumping races in the Easter half, one of which is said to have ended in a fight. There are, however, many races between

different eights, fours, and pairs. House fours is perhaps the event which causes the most excitement in the aquatic year.

Until he was appointed head master Dr. Warre, himself a famous Eton and Oxford oar, used to coach the eight, and to his coaching it is largely due that Eton is the nursery of great oarsmen and the home of the classical style of rowing. Scientific rowing was developed at Eton before it was acquired at either of the Universities, and the light blue of Cambridge was adopted as the University colour by old Etonians in memory of the light blue of Eton. It is not known when the school took that colour. It was worn by the eight in 1831 in their race against Westminster, and was afterwards adopted by the eleven, who wear caps of light blue and white coats bound with light blue, whereas the eight wear white caps and light blue coats bound with white.

The twenty-two wear light blue and black in stripes, and the "School Field," or football eleven, light blue and red in quarters.

Dr. Warre was succeeded as coach by the Rev. S. H. Donaldson, also a famous oarsman. The eight is now coached by Mr. de Havilland. For seven years running Eton has won the Ladies' Plate at Henley.

CRICKET.

It would be impossible in the space at my command to give anything like a full history of cricket at Eton. For a century the school has been one of the chief

nurseries of the game, and it may be safely said that no school has produced a greater number of famous players. Families such as the Lytteltons, the Lubbocks and the Studds, individuals such as Mr. R. A. H. Mitchell, Mr. C. I. Thornton, Lord Harris, Lord Hawke, Mr. F. Marchant, and many later names testify to the large part that Eton has played in amateur cricket. For many years Mr. R. A. H. Mitchell, one of the greatest bats in England in his time, superintended the cricket of the school, and produced eleven after eleven which met the rival elevens of Winchester and Harrow, with varying fortunes it is true, but nearly always with credit to their trainer. The Eton style of batting, if not the creation of Mr. Mitchell, has been fixed and perpetuated by him, to the great advantage of cricket generally. The free and forward kind of play taught at Eton contrasts most favourably with the cramped, timid, and "poking" style affected by many professionals, and though perhaps less fitted for the immediate winning of matches, gives to the boy who acquires it a much better chance of eventual excellence in University or County Cricket than the styles taught at some of the public schools. It has indeed been often remarked how frequently boys who were not particularly distinguished members of the Eton eleven have developed unexpected excellence at Oxford or Cambridge, and no school has contributed so many members to the University elevens. It is true that Eton is much larger than any other school, but it must be remembered that cricket there labours under the disadvantage of the constant rivalry of rowing.

Cricket is compulsory for no boy who has passed in swimming, and the fascinations of the river without doubt attract many boys who could be good cricketers if they gave their minds to the game. It is a necessary evil attendant upon such a competition that many boys fail to attain excellence in either branch of sport, because their devotion is divided between the two ; it is a compensating advantage that all boys have a liberty of choice, and that many a boy, whom some defect of eye or quickness would prevent from becoming a good cricketer, is able to turn his strength and endurance to good account on the river.

There can be no doubt, unfortunately, that for some time cricket at Eton has not been what it used to be ; good elevens and good individual players are produced, but the batting of the average Eton eleven is not as dashing and attractive as it was in the seventies and eighties, and the proportion of Etonians playing in the University elevens is smaller than in the past. In the same time Harrow cricket has improved, or at least has maintained its excellence, and Harrow has certainly produced more fine players in the last ten years than Eton. The cause of this deterioration would be difficult to discover, but it is to be hoped that Mr. C. M. Wells, the famous Cambridge wicket keeper, who now superintends cricket at Eton, will be able to raise the play of the school to its former level. The cricket of a school depends, perhaps, more on the coaching given to the younger players than to any other element of success ; and this kind of coaching becomes increasingly difficult at Eton with the grow-

ing competition of the river and the growing difficulty of providing grounds for all the different games.

Cricket at Eton is divided into clubs. A boy begins his cricket career by going down to play in "Sixpenny," the lower boy club, so called, it is said, because the subscription to it used to be a shilling. Sixpenny games are played in the "Timbralls," the general name



Photo.

Hills and Saunders.

"SIXPENNY" AND FIVES COURTS.

of the large field north of the Slough Road, which is called "Sixpenny" in the summer, and "School field" in the winter. The lower boy is "picked up" in first, second, or third Sixpenny, according to his capacity. There is a sixpenny eleven, to the members of which colours are given, which they can only wear so long as they remain lower boys, or for the first year of their school-time, if they rise into the fifth form during that time. The promising player rises in turn to upper



Photo.

THE ETON AND WINCHESTER MATCH.

Hills and Saunders.

sixpenny, to lower club, to middle club, and to upper club. From the players in upper club are selected the eleven and twenty-two, or second eleven. Colours are given to the best players in lower and middle clubs, to the twenty-two, and to the eleven. The eleven colours are not finally given until just before the match with Harrow. A boy may play in the Winchester match and yet not obtain his eleven colours. There are other clubs, such as "Aquatics," for those wet-bobs who care to dally with cricket, and "Jordan" and "Refuse" for inferior players. College has its own game, though collegers take part in the club games if they wish. There are senior and junior cups for which all houses can compete, but no house colours are given for cricket.

Both the Winchester and Harrow matches last two days each. The Winchester match is played in alternate years at Winchester and Eton; many boys from each school visit the other when the match is played there, and are hospitably entertained, for the two schools still keep up their ancient friendliness. Many Etonians and Harrovians wish that the same arrangement could be made for the Eton and Harrow match, but the great difference in the nature of the two grounds prevents it. The Eton and Harrow match as at present played at Lord's is an opportunity for many people in no way connected with the two schools to show their clothes and meet their acquaintances. Those really interested in the cricket are swamped in a fashionable and indifferent crowd. The contest is a far less friendly one

than that between Eton and Winchester, and the excited feelings of the boys have once or twice led them to blows at the end of the match—a state of things which would be impossible if it were played at Harrow and Eton alternately. The match has only once been finished since 1893. Its progress is certainly delayed by the fashionable crowd, and this succession of draws led to an agitation a few years ago for its prolongation to three days. Dr. Welldon, the then head master of Harrow, yielded to the agitation, and made a formal proposal to Dr. Warre that the match should be lengthened ; most old members of the two schools agreed that Dr. Warre was wise in his courteous rejection of the proposal. The match is already a sufficient interruption to the work of the summer half, which is also broken into by the Eton and Winchester match, and by Henley.

FOOTBALL.

Football, as played at Eton, is of two kinds, the “field” and the “wall.” Both are peculiar to Eton ; and one of them, the “wall,” has no resemblance to any kind of football played elsewhere.

Since there is only one wall but many fields, the field game is the most generally played, and is, in fact, the game of the school ; the wall, of which we will speak later, being, in fact, only played by collegers, to whom the wall itself belongs, and such oppidans

as are likely to be chosen for the great match against college on St. Andrew's Day.

The field game has more resemblance to Association football than to Rugby, and is, in fact, one of the several games out of which Association has been developed. In the field game the ball, which is round, and about half the size of an Association ball, may never be handled. "School Field," called in the summer "Sixpenny," and also known by its old name of the "Timbralls," a corruption of Timberhawes, is 143 yards long by 97 yards wide. This may be considered the standard size, as school matches and the final ties for the House Cup are played there. Most of the other fields are a little smaller. The goal is 11 feet wide by 7 feet high, considerably smaller, therefore, than the Association goal. In matches the numbers are eleven, or occasionally twelve aside, but in ordinary games there are usually more players, with less evil effect on the play, perhaps, than in Association; though the ordinary house game with its mob of players, both big and small, is not a very amusing experience.

In games of eleven aside, the players are distributed as follows: Three "behinds," called "goals," "long behind," and "short behind;" a "flying man" who stands just behind the "bully;" the "bully" itself, which consists of four players on each side known as "post," the central player, "back-up post," whose position is immediately behind him, and two "sides;" three "corners," who wait, two on one side and one on the other, outside the "bully," are to seize the ball if it comes out sideways.

A "bully" is a kind of scrummage. The players "form down," taking turns to be over or under, "post" supported by "back-up post" in the centre, the "sides" on each side of him. The "post" who is under stoops with his head in the pit of the stomach of the "post" who is over—the sides forming in the same way. A "bully" is thus formed at the beginning of a game, and after every cessation of play which does not result in a kick off, or "rouge," for one side. When the "bully" is formed the ball is put in sideways, and the "posts" either endeavour to force it through their opponents, or to kick it out to the "corners," as seems best to them. When the "bully" has broken up, it is the duty of all the forwards to be always on the ball, and no particular place is assigned to any of them. This system of play is made necessary by the rule which prohibits passing. If the ball is passed forward, any player of the same side as the one who has passed it, if he kicked it, would be "sneaking;" the penalty for which is a kick off from the place where the ball was kicked. If it is passed to the side, any player of the same side as the one who has passed it, if he kicked it, would be "cornering," the penalty for which is a "bully" at the place where the offence was committed. It will be seen at once that these two rules make the game entirely different from Association. Progress in the field game is made altogether by dribbling, and by charging under the kicks of the behinds, and so preventing the opposite behinds from returning the ball effectively. It is, therefore, a virtue in a behind to kick high as

well as far, so that his forwards may have time to reach the spot where the ball will fall. In the case of a long kick by a behind, if the mass of his own side charge together under the ball they are none of them sneaking. In fact, the chief object of the rules against sneaking and cornering is to keep the bullies always together. Goals are kicked as in Association, but even the goal-keeper may not use his hands. Besides goals, "rouges" may be obtained, three of which go to a goal. The conditions under which a rouge may be scored are various and complicated, but it may be said roughly that if the ball is kicked behind, that is to say, over the goal line, but not between the goal posts, and if any of the defending side has any part in the act which causes the ball to go behind, then, supposing that the ball, after it is behind, is first touched by one of the attacking side, the attacking side scores a rouge. Thus, to take a simple case, if A of the defending side kicks the ball behind his own goal line, and B of the attacking side is the first to touch it, B's side scores a rouge; and to give a more complex example, if B of the attacking side kicks the ball behind, while the shoulder, knee, or any part of A, of the defending side, is in contact with him, and the ball, having gone behind, is first touched by one of the attacking side, the attacking side scores a rouge.

The immediate result of a rouge is a bully in front of the defenders' goal, and one yard from the goal line. In a rouge bully the sides form as in an ordinary bully, but the attacking post stands up facing the

defending post, three yards away from him. Each post is backed up by all the players of his side who are not required at the side of the bully or behind. The attacking post then takes the ball firmly between his feet and charges, with all the players backing him up behind him, on to the post of the defending side, his object being to force the ball through the goal. If he succeeds in doing this the rouge is merged in the goal; otherwise the attacking side score only a rouge.

After a goal the ball is kicked off by the loser of the goal from half way. When the ball is kicked behind by a player on the defending side, and first touched by one of the defending side, a bully is formed on the line opposite to the place where the ball was kicked. When the ball is kicked behind by one of the attacking side, it is kicked off from the line by the defending side. The game lasts an hour, ends being changed at half time. The "field game" is certainly not so scientific, or capable of such elaborate development as Association football. It will be plain from the account given, that the rapid combinations and calculated attacks, and the accurate placing of the ball, which form the refinements of Association, are impossible to it. On the other hand, it is a better game for boys, and particularly for small boys, since it involves a continued pursuit of the ball. The unwilling and incompetent boy playing Association may pass his time in comparative inactivity, since when the ball comes his way it is sure to depart soon and leave him in peace, whereas in the field game he

is compelled, at any rate, to take exercise, even if his activity is of no great value to his own side. At the same time it must be confessed that the practice of the field game is a severe handicap to Etonians who wish to play Association at the Universities, since they find the style of "selfish" play, which they have learnt at school, the worst possible in the more scientific game.

FOOTBALL: THE WALL GAME.

The wall game, as we have said, is only played by collegers and a few oppidans. It owes its origin to the long, unbuttressed brick wall which divides the playing fields from the Slough Road. This wall is 10 feet high, and about 110 yards long. It was built in 1717. It is not known whether any form of wall game was played before this time, or whether the wall game as it now exists is a development in any way of "passage" football. It is generally supposed that the game is extremely ancient, but there is not much authority for supposing that any kind of football was much played at Eton before this century.

It will be remembered that in the list of games played in the last century, given above, there is no direct mention of football, though we hear of "goals," and of "scrambling walls," which may have been rudimentary forms of the field and wall games. It is certain, at least, that the present wall game is quite modern. At the beginning of the century the wall game was played indeed, but on a much wider strip

of ground than at present, so that it was not unlike the present field game, and lacked many of its present most essential features. The wall game as it is now played is the result of a particular environment. Conceive a determination to play football on a narrow strip of land bounded on one side by a wall, and the wall game is the result.



THE WALL AND BAD CALX.

The ground is about 110 yards long, and about 20 feet wide. On one side, of course, it is bounded by the wall, on the other by a slight furrow. At one end of the wall is another wall at right angles to it, which contains a door, 7 feet high by 3 wide, and about 20 yards from the wall proper. This end wall is the boundary line of one end of the game, and the door is the goal. The boundary at the other end is a

slight furrow drawn at right angles to the wall, just at the point where the wall turns off at an inconvenient angle. About 28 yards from the wall, and nearly opposite this point, is a large elm tree, a portion of the trunk of which, corresponding in size to the door at the other end, is painted with white lines, and serves as the corresponding goal.

The game begins with a bully formed in the middle of the wall, the formation of which, and the disposition of the players, will be described later. So soon as the ball comes out of the bully and is kicked over the furrow parallel to the wall, or over the wall itself, it is out, and cannot be kicked again by either side. The bully is then formed again at a point against the wall opposite to the point at which the ball was stopped outside the furrow. It will be seen at once that, as the strip of ground in play is very narrow, the ball frequently goes out, and that it is almost impossible for a player to dribble it down the ground to elude his adversaries, crowded in so small a space, and kick a goal. Such a feat, indeed, has not been performed within the memory of man. It was therefore found necessary to devise another means of access to the goal. Accordingly, at each end of the area of play a space is marked off by white lines painted vertically on the wall. Within these spaces it is lawful for one of the attacking side to score a goal, under certain conditions, by throwing it at the door or tree as the case may be. Each of these spaces is called *calx*, from the white line bounding it. That at the "tree end" is called *bad calx*, and that at the "door end"

good calx, these names being given from the point of view of the attacking side in each case, since good calx is both easier to reach, and to remain in when reached, for reasons which will be plain later.

We will now give a more explicit description of the game.

The players, as in the field game, are eleven a side, distributed as follows: Three "behinds," namely, "goals," "long behind," and "flying man"; a bully consisting of five a side, namely, three "walls" and two "seconds," and three players outside the bully, namely, "third," who stands next the bully, "fourth," who stands behind him, and "line," who stands nearest to the outside boundary line. The walls wear padded caps, with flaps tied under the chin to cover their ears; gloves, if they are wise, and sacks, a kind of sweater padded about the shoulders, chest, and back. These are to protect them against the wall and the elbows of their opponents. The seconds wear padded caps like those of the walls; otherwise they and the rest of the players wear ordinary "change" clothes.

The game begins with a bully formed up against the wall midway between the two goals, the three walls forming up next to the wall, one wall under, his opponent over, and the other walls backing them up; next to them crouch the seconds, forming in the same way, and on the skirts of the bully the outsides, in the order described above. Flying man hovers just behind the bully, to pounce on the ball if it is forced past his own walls. His position is, perhaps, the most important on the side. When the bully is

formed the ball is rolled in from the outside. It must reach the wall before play can begin. When once it has touched the wall the tactics of the walls depend on the strength or weakness of their side. If they are weak in the bully, but strong outside or behind, they will attempt to thrust the ball out of the bully so that it may be seized by their outsides and forced past their opponents in a loose melee. If, on the other hand, they are strong in the bully, their first wall will keep the ball tight pressed against the wall with his outer foot, and try to force a way between the opposing walls and the wall with his elbows and knees. In this way, if he is skilful and judiciously backed up, he may slowly fight his way some distance down the wall, but the process is very exhausting, and a bully is seldom "walked" more than about thirty yards at the most. Then, when by some means or another the ball is forced out, the outsides charge fiercely on each other; but their part is soon over, and the ball usually flies over the boundary line after a few seconds of tumultuous kicking. The outsides, though their rôle is a short one, must be both wide awake and swift of foot; the worst offence which they or any player can commit is to kick the ball inside the line to the opposing behinds, who, in such a case, protected by the intervening bodies of their own bully and outsides, are able to kick the ball back at their leisure. Every player, therefore, so soon as the ball is out of the bully, makes it his object to kick it out, of course in the direction of his opponents' goal, though, when the rare occasion offers, he may dribble

it down the wall, provided he keep it very close to him.

So the game goes on until one side or the other force their way into their opponents' calx. Then at last they are able to score, and the whole character of the game changes, since the object of the attacking side is no longer to advance forward, but to score, and the object of the defenders is not to drive them back, but to prevent their scoring. The calx bully, which is then formed, is differently arranged from the ordinary bully, for the following reasons. As we have said, when once the ball is in calx, the attacking side may score a goal by throwing the ball at the goals. But before it can be so thrown, one of them must lift the ball from the ground with his foot, pressing it against the wall, and at the same time facing in the direction of the defenders' goal. Then he or some other player on the same side must touch the ball and cry "got it ;" when the umpire, if all the rules have been strictly observed, will say "shy," and the ball may then be thrown from any point within calx at the goal. Even if the ball hits the goal, however, if it is first touched by one of the defending side it is no goal ; and since the defending side have usually plenty of time to place themselves well between the very narrow goal and the player throwing the ball, and, if they can, may rush round and baulk his throw, to obtain a goal is a very rare feat. Indeed, only one has been obtained in the collegers' and oppidans' match within the memory of man. This was done in good calx by H. J. Mordaunt for college in 1885. Shies

therefore count to the side which obtains them, or most matches would be barren of result; but no amount of shies is equal to a goal.

The calx bully, therefore, is arranged by the attacking side so that they may, if possible, pull or "furk" the ball out backwards, and behind their own bully, where they will be able to go through the process necessary to the obtaining of a shy undisturbed by the defenders; and by the defenders so that they also may furk the ball to their side of the bully and kick it out of calx. It should be mentioned that furking, or, indeed, sending the ball backwards in any way, is only allowed in calx. On the attacking side one of the walls forms down in such a position that, when the ball is put in, he may instantly bring his left foot against it and try to raise it against the wall. He is called the "getter." To the left of him is a "second," whose duty it is to swing his left foot into the bully beyond the ball and drag it back behind his own bully. Each of these is backed up by other players, and the office of these backers-up is very important, since their principals, having each only one foot on the ground, are very apt to be pushed over. Another player bends down behind the wall, facing away from the bully, and with his left leg protruded backwards into the bully, ready to drive his foot back behind the ball so soon as it is put in, and so "furk" it back out of the bully towards his "helper," who, in case he gets it out, stands ready to get a shy. One player remains a few yards behind the bully, the rest of the side stand ranged outside the bully, ready to back up if necessary,

to rush round if the ball is extracted by their opponents, or to stop their opponents' rush if their own "furker" extracts it. The defending side form down in much the same way, except that, of course, they have to prevent shies, not to get them. Their object is to get the ball at their side of the bully and kick it away out of calx, if they are in good calx, or take it behind and touch it if in bad calx, in which case they get a free kick. It will be seen from this that their task is much easier in bad calx, since, when once they have got it out, they are almost sure of a free kick, whereas in good calx their back may easily be baulked of his kick by their opponents' rush.

The defending side therefore have a "stopper" instead of a "getter," whose duty it is to bring his left foot down on the ball as soon as it is put into the bully. Otherwise their formation is the same. Before the umpire puts in the ball he sees that the feet of the getters, stoppers, seconds, and furkers are not beyond two lines which he draws on the ground. Then he says, "Are you ready?" and rolls the ball in along a third line, midway between the two. If a shy is the result, the next bully is formed where the shy was obtained. There is a certain white stone in the wall in good calx said to have been the scene of Shelley's disastrous fight. When the ball is stopped beyond this stone the calx bully is formed under it. Otherwise it is formed where the ball is stopped. So soon as the bully gets out of calx it resumes its regular formation.

In bad calx there is no stone, and the bully is

formed where the ball stops, or a yard from the back line if the ball has passed over the back line, and has been first touched by one of the attacking side.

A really well-trained "calx bully" works together with the precision of a machine, and if opposed to an ill-trained bully, however strong and athletic its individual players may be, will extract the ball almost instantly.

The game lasts an hour, and ends are changed at half time. The wall is the especial property of the collegers. A colleger begins to play the wall game his first winter half, whereas an oppidan seldom has an opportunity of tasting its delights until he has become a proficient player at the field game. Hence it happens that the collegers, though so greatly outnumbered, are able to hold their own in the great match with the oppidans on St. Andrew's Day, on which day also occurs a field match between Old Etonians from Oxford and Cambridge.

The account just given of the wall game probably fails to make its complications clear to anyone who has never played it. It cannot even pretend to give an idea of its fascinations. These are hardly visible to a mere spectator of the game, who sees only a close-packed crowd of boys engaged in an unintelligible struggle against a wall, followed by a few moments of looser play, and desperate charging and kicking. The calx bully, in particular, the most exquisite part of the game, is a wearisome spectacle for the ignorant onlooker, but how delightful for those engaged in it only they can tell. For the outsides the wall game has its draw-



Photo.

FOOTBALL : OPPIDANS v. COLLEGGERS, ST. ANDREW'S DAY.

Hills and Saunders.

backs. It is their duty to stand idle during the greater part of the game, and then to risk their bones in a momentary and desperate struggle. Yet good outsiders have confessed that the joy of that struggle is the fiercest they have ever experienced. The flying man, too, has long periods of anxiety, followed by the necessity for instant and unerring action. When the ball comes out of the bully, he has little time and less space in which to kick it. If he kicks it over the bully to the behinds of the other side, he might as well be playing for them. If he kicks it over the wall, there is but little gained, and it only remains for him therefore to kick it out, and in the direction of his opponents' calx. He must also lift it, since the players of both sides are close upon him, and if he kicks it into the middle of them no one knows what may happen. Also the further he kicks it the better. Therefore he must be a master of the whole art of kicking, power, accuracy, and swiftness. Such a master is very rarely found. For the long behind and the goals, it must be confessed that they do nothing most of their time, but even for them there are great moments. To the walls and seconds, at any rate, the wall game seems the finest in the world. Every muscle of the body is brought into play, and every kind of faculty exerted in a constant, hand-to-hand, Homeric conflict, in which skill is more valuable than strength, and generalship gets the better of weight. The enduring wall, who, conscious of the inferiority of his outsides and behinds, "holds the ball" until time in spite of the efforts of the whole opposing bully, tastes something of the triumph of Ajax at the ships. His

skill is not seen by the ignorant spectator, to whom he seems merely a blind obstruction and a nuisance. His head, his neck, his arms, and his shoulders, are "ground" by the elbows of his opponents with increasing fury; they thrust their knees between his; and they are not very careful to distinguish between his legs and the ball as they rain their kicks upon it. At last, perhaps, they drive the ball beyond him, and he is compelled, by the rules of the game, to go round the bully and take the place of the third wall on his own side, but in the meantime he drinks delight of battle with his peers, as it is drunk in no other game.

RACQUETS, FIVES, ETC.

There are only two racquet courts at Eton; the game is, therefore, not very generally played; nor can Etonians hope to equal Harrovians at the game which is so largely played at Harrow. Eton has, however, been more successful than any school, except Harrow, in the Public School Racquets Competitions, and succeeded in winning it again, after a long series of defeats, in 1899.

The Eton game of fives is very generally played in the Easter half. It originated in the combination of two large buttresses against the chapel with the steps to the chapel, built at the end of the seventeenth century.

Before these steps were built a rudimentary form of the game was probably played between the buttresses. The steps added a new complication to

the game, since their inner wall juts out from the eastern of the two buttresses played between, and the platform between their two flights is separated by a short ledge of a few inches in height from the floor between the buttresses. This combination of steps and buttresses became the first Eton fives court, and



NORTH SIDE OF THE CHAPEL, SHOWING THE STEPS WHERE
ABSENCE IS CALLED, AND THE ORIGINAL FIVES COURT.

is played in to this day. Other fives courts modelled on it were built in 1840 and 1847, and a large number have since been erected in 1870, 1880, and 1885, so that every boy has here a good chance of getting a fives court frequently. The game is played by two or four players. A fives cup is competed for. There are senior and junior keepers of the fives court, and senior and junior fives cups to be com-

peted for. The same arrangement also exists in the case of racquets.

The school SPORTS take place in the Easter half; the steeplechase, the mile, the quarter, and the walking race being held at different times, the rest of the sports all together.

They are under the control of the captain of the boats. College and the different houses also have their own sports.

The ETON COLLEGE HUNT is an old institution, now legalized, but once only carried on under terror of the law. It consists of a pack of beagles hunted by the "keeper of the beagles" and three whips, all of whom wear velveteen Norfolk jackets.

The pack, which hunts only in the Easter half, consists of twenty couples or more. Boys who wish to run with it put down their names, and about seventy of them are chosen by the keeper. Every keeper nominates his successor. Formerly the appointment was in the hands of the captain of the boats.

The VOLUNTEERS are in a very flourishing condition at Eton, so much so that they are able to form a separate battalion by themselves. The corps was founded in 1860, and at first was officered by boys only, but this arrangement was soon found impracticable. The present head master, who is a learned tactician and an excellent soldier, was for a long time in command; his energy and enthusiasm did much to make the corps what it is. A number of boys selected from the corps formed the guard of honour at William Ewart Gladstone's funeral.

CHAPTER XII

CONCLUSION

ETON is a fashionable school, and is therefore the subject of much foolish praise and abuse. To most Etonians, the praise is more distasteful than the abuse. They are inured to hearing that Eton is filled with youthful noblemen, and with boys not noble sent there to make their acquaintance ; that some boys go to Eton to learn cricket ; others to learn to be gentlemen ; few or none to be educated. But they wince when they read the first chapter of "Coningsby," and they often wish that more of the guardsmen of fiction were educated at Marlborough or Cheltenham.

It is the common fault of all our public schools, that their teaching is less thorough and scientific than that of a German gymnasium, and that the English school-boy usually leaves them without any thirst for knowledge and with a lordly indifference to the many things which he does not understand. It is their common merit, that they give room to his character to grow, that they confront him with many of the problems of life in little, and that they send him into the world knowing something of the faults and virtues both of himself and of others.

At Eton, since the boys are freer than at other public

schools and are left more to themselves in the preparation of their work and the management of their games, we may expect to find the faults and merits of the public school system intensified ; and there is no doubt that the Etonian has to teach himself a good deal that a closer system would teach him, and that, on the other hand, he learns some things that cannot be taught.

Considerable dangers attend this system of education. Some boys need a closer discipline, a more continuous spur, to keep them out of mischief ; but a boy who has passed safely through these dangers is less likely to make a fool of himself in the critical period of early manhood than one who has never encountered them. The best results of the system do not show themselves quickly, and cannot be tested by an examination ; but we may say without boasting that Etonians in an emergency are apt to do better than their seeming best ; to distinguish themselves, for instance, more in the India Civil Service than in the examination for it. It is easy to over-estimate the part which a school has played in the moulding of its great men. Many of the greatest Etonians were born to a position from which the approaches to fame were made easy. Fox and the younger Pitt commanded attention by their names alone. Interest hastened the progress of Arthur Wellesley through the lower ranks of the army ; but the number of famous men educated at Eton, and the affection and gratitude with which nearly all have remembered her, is a powerful testimony in her favour. They have made classic ground of the schoolroom in which they carved

their names, and the meadows where they played, and the memory of them remains, so that the young Etonian, whatever his ambitions may be, need never lack examples to fire them. Heroes, saints, statesmen, poets, among the greatest of these Etonians can be found, and not only among the dead. In the present war in South Africa the Commander-in-chief and many famous generals are Etonians. The present Prime Minister and his only living predecessor are Etonians. The last remaining representative of the great succession of English poets is an Etonian, and this book cannot end better than with the beautiful lines which he wrote for the 450th anniversary of the founding of his old school.

“ Still the reaches of the river, still the light on field and hill,
Still the memories held aloft as lamps for hope's young fire to
fill,
Shine, and while the light of England lives shall shine for
England still.

When four hundred more and fifty years have risen and shone
and set,
Bright with names that men remember, loud with names that
men forget,
Haply here shall Eton's record be what England finds it yet ”

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

THE GOVERNING BODY OF ETON

The Provost (Chairman).
The Provost of King's College, Cambridge (*ex officio*).
The Warden of Merton College, Oxford.
The Master of Sydney Sussex College, Cambridge.
Sir Henry Roscoe, F.R.S.
The Lord Chancellor.
Francis Warre Cornish, M.A. (the Vice-Provost).
The Earl of Morley.
The Warden of All Souls' College, Oxford.
Viscount Cobham.
The Head Master.
The Lower Master.

APPENDIX B

LIST OF PROVOSTS AND HEAD MASTERS

PROVOSTS

Henry Sever.	1441	Roger Lupton.	1503
William of Waynflete.	1442	Robert Aldrich.	1536
John Clerk.	1447	Thomas Smith.	1547
William Westbury.	1447	Henry Cole.	1554
Henry Bost.	1477	William Bill.	1559

ETON

William Day.	1561	Henry Bland.	1732
Sir Henry Savile.	1596	Stephen Sleech.	1746
Thomas Murray.	1621	Edward Barnard.	1765
Sir Henry Wotton.	1624	William Hayward Roberts.	
Richard Stewart.	1639		1781
Francis Rous.	1643	Jonathan Davies.	1791
Nicholas Lockyer.	1658	Joseph Goodall.	1809
Nicholas Monk.	1660	Francis Hodgson.	1840
John Meredith.	1661	Edward Craven Hawtrey.	
Richard Allestree.	1665		1853
Zacharias Cradock.	1680	Charles Old Goodford.	1862
Henry Godolphin.	1695	James John Hornby.	1884

HEAD MASTERS

William of Waynflete.	1441 (?)	Robert Cater.	1545
William Westbury.	1443 (?)	William Barker.	1546 (?)
Richard Hopton.	1447	William Malim.	1555 (?)
Thomas Forster.	1453	William Smith.	1563 (?)
Clement Smyth.	1453	Reuben Sherwood.	1571 (?)
John Peyntour.	1457 (?)	Hugh Blythe.	1579 (?)
Clement Smyth.	1458 (?)	Thomas Ridley.	1579 (?)
Walter Barber.	1470	John Hammond.	1582 (?)
David Haubrook.	(?)	Richard Langley.	1594
Thomas Muche.	1484	Richard Wright.	1611
William Horman.	(?)	Matthew Bust.	1611
Edward Powel.	1495	John Harrison.	1630
Nicholas Bailbrigg.	1496	William Norris.	1636 (?)
Robert Yong.	1501	Nicholas Gray.	1646 (?)
John Smyth.	1504 (?)	George Goad.	1648
John Goldyve.	1507	Thomas Horne.	1648
Thomas Philips.	1510	John Boncle.	1654
Thomas Erlysmann.	1511	Thomas Singleton.	1655
Robert Aldrich.	1515	Thomas Montague.	1660
Thomas White.	1521	John Rosewell.	1672 (?)
John Goldwin.	1524	Charles Roderick.	1682
Richard Cox.	1528	John Newborough.	1693
Nicholas Udall.	1534	Andrew Snape.	1713
Tyndall.	1543	Henry Bland.	1720
Smith.	1543	William George.	1728

APPENDICES

William Cooke.	1743	John Keate.	1809
John Sumner.	1745	Edward Craven Hawtrey.	
Edward Barnard.	1754		1834
John Foster.	1765	Charles Old Goodford	1853
Jonathan Davies.	1773	Edward Balston.	1862
George Heath.	1792	James John Hornby.	1868
Joseph Goodall.	1802	Edmond Warre.	1884

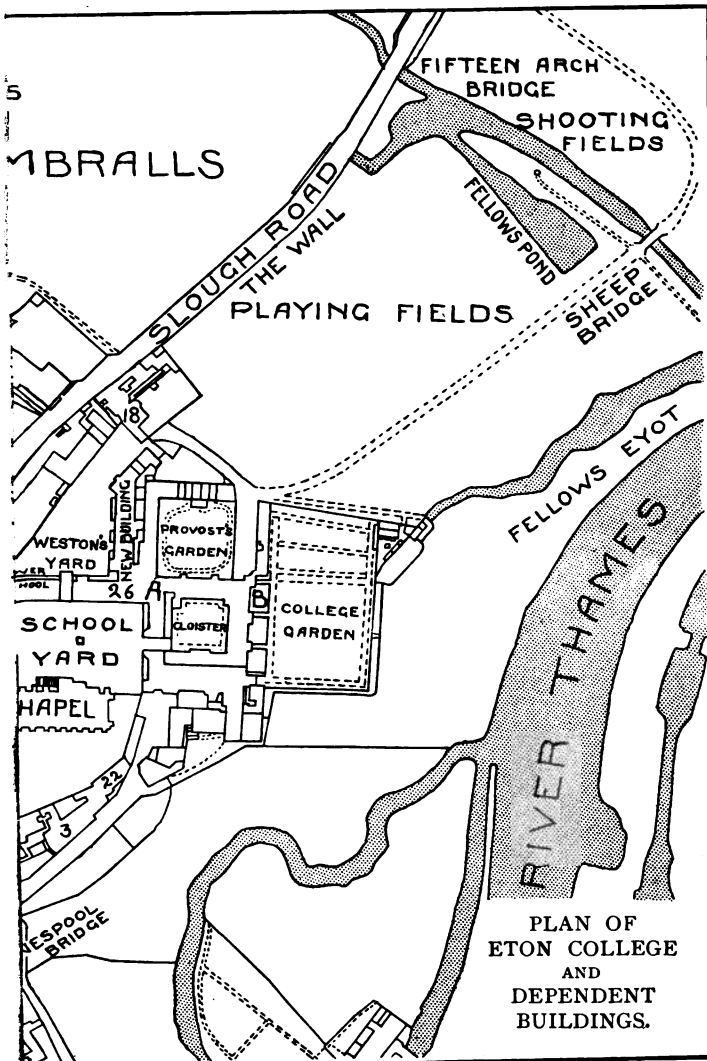
APPENDIX C

NUMBERS OF THE SCHOOL AT DIFFERENT PERIODS

1698	344	1786	341	1843	716
1720	416	1795	436	1850	625
1745	248	1800	357	1859	801
1755	367	1810	502	1871	908
1760	481	1825	568	1884	894
1765	552	1835	446*	1891	1007
1775	246*	1838	522	1899	1013

* The fall between 1765 and 1775 was owing to the rebellion under Doctor Foster. The fall between 1825 and 1835, to the agitation for reform at the end of Keate's rule.

M BRALLS





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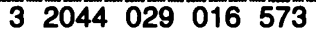
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